

NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENTS XVII to XXXII
(Articles 101—199)

AND

MINT TOWNS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS
(Vol. VIII, No. 11, 1912)

IN THE

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,
1912—1918.

Note.—The numeration of the article below is continued from p. 712 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1911.

101. COINS OF GĀNGEYA DEVA, with PLATE.

In March 1911, I received for examination 8 coins of Mediæval India which had been found in *mauza* Isurpūr, tahsil Rehli, of Saugor district. The inscriptions on the reverses when pieced together from the eight specimens read "Sri Mad Gāngeya Deva" as on the coins depicted in Plate VIII of Cunningham's *Coins of Mediæval India*. The reverses contained very rudely struck figures of Lakshmī. But the peculiarity of the coins consisted in their fabric. The usual coins of Gāngeya Deva are thin and broad. These were thick, and in diameter only a bare half inch. The weight of the coins was normal.

I showed the coins to Dr. Venis, C.I.E., and Mr. R. Burn, C.S. The latter suggests that the coins may be a posthumous issue by Gāngeya Deva's son Karma, who was a great conqueror.

Allahābād.

H. NELSON WRIGHT.

102. SHAMSU-D-DĪN MAḤMŪD SHĀH OF DEHLI.

In Numismatic Supplements XIV and XV, a reference to which is invited, I noted on a billon coin of Shamsu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dehli, an ephemeral Sultān who is only known by the existence of two coins bearing his name. I remarked that the first coin was published by Mr. C. J. Rodgers in a pamphlet which I had not seen, and that he noted upon it in his book 'Coin Collecting in Northern India' (Pioneer Press, Allahabad). I also wrote that I had not been able to ascertain where that coin was, but surmised that if it was the property of Mr. Rodgers, he probably disposed of it to the British Museum.

I am now in a position to bring together all existing references to this Maḥmūd Shāh. The first coin to be discovered is in the British Museum, but eluded my notice because it is not in the Catalogue of the coins of the Dehli Sultāns. It is described in an Appendix to the British Museum Catalogue of

I will not follow the details of this contest between the four brothers, which was fought out on the banks of the Ravi near Lahore. They are fully given in the paper from which I am quoting—see the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1896. Prince 'Azimu sh-shan, on the death of his father seized the imperial camp, and was in an incomparably stronger position than his brothers. However, owing to his own ineptitude and fatuity, he lost everything, was defeated, and in flight from the field of battle, was engulfed, together with his elephant in a quicksand. The defeat and death of Jahān Shah, and of Rafi'u-sh-shan, followed in quick succession. All these events happened within five weeks after the death of Bahadur Shah, and the biers of his three sons were despatched with that of their father to Dehli for interment. All his rivals having been removed, Jahandar Shah proceeded at once to carry out his formal enthronement and proclamation as sovereign of Hindūstan.

Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, the second son of 'Azimu-sh-shan, was now in his thirty first year, and had accompanied his father first to Āgra, and thence to Bengal. In the last year of his reign, Aurangzeb recalled his grandson, 'Azimu sh-shan, from Bengal, giving him orders to leave his eldest son Muhammad Karim, in charge of Bahar, and his second son, Farrukhsiyar, in Bengal. The young prince passed some years at Dhākka (Jahangurnagar), the capital of the Bengal province, but in the reign of Bahadur Shah (1707—12), he moved to Murshidabad, and subsequently to Raj Mahal (Akbaragar). 'Azimu sh-shan, anticipating a struggle for the throne, called on Farrukhsiyar to return to Court and the latter was on the march and not far from Patna ('Azimabad), when on the 7th Safar 1124 A.H. (15th March, 1712), he heard of Bahadur Shah's death, and on the 13th (21st March), without waiting for further information, he proclaimed his father's accession, and caused coin to be stamped, and the public prayer or *Khutba* to be read in his name. He decided to march no further, but on the 29th Safar (6th April, 1712) he heard of his father's defeat and death. For a little time the prince contemplated suicide, but was in the end incited to try the issue of a contest in the field. Thereupon, while still at Patna, he proclaimed his accession to the empire issuing coin, and causing the *Khutba* to be read in his own name. He possessed little following at the time, but the adventure eventually had a favourable issue. Jahandar Shah was defeated at Āgra on the 13th Zū l-Hajj, 1124 A.H. (10th January, 1713), and slain shortly afterwards. Jahandar Shāh had shown himself absolutely unfitted to rule, and Mr Irvine remarks that the cause of his fall is likened by Ward truly enough to the case of the exiled monarch who attributed his ruin to morning slumbering and midnight carousing.

From this account we should expect the coin issued to proclaim 'Azimush shan's accession, to have been struck at 'Azimabad Patna, and the fact of its issue from 'Azim's name place would have been a happy augury. This coin has yet to be found, but we have that struck at Jahāngirnagar, and it is quite natural to suppose that Farrukhsiyar ordered an issue in 'Azim's name from his old capital. It would be too late entirely to prevent the issue when the news of 'Azim's death arrived.

R B WHITEHEAD, ICS

LAHORE

January 1912

104 ISLAMBANDAR 'URF RAJAPUR

It is now ten years since I obtained an Aurangzēb rupee of the Islambandar mint. This rupee bears the ordinary legends, having on the Obverse the چودر مدر formula, and on the Reverse the words صرب مند ۴ حلوس میمنت مانوس with صرب مدر in the two lowest lines. The Hiji year is wanting, but the regnal year 4x determines the date of issue as falling between 1108 and 1118 A H (1696—1706 A D).

The location of Islambandar remained for long a puzzling problem but we have, I think, at last arrived at its solution. In a recent letter from my kind friend Mr Henry Cousens, M R A S, he writes —

"I have an old native map of Bijapur City, just covered with marginal notes in Persian, which I have had translated. On it are scores of names of muhallas and villages of Aurangzeb's time with their revenues. One of the entries is Islambandar alias Rajapur (اسلام بندر عرف راجہ پور). I had better give you the translation of this part of the note, which is a long one. It runs thus —

'The port Khal Batī [Bhatkal ?] seven thousand, the port Chapūl [Chaul ?] fifteen thousand, the port Sank ten thousand, the port Gūwa [Goa] thirty seven thousand and five hundred, which after a short time passed again into the possession of Christians, Islambandar alias Rajapur twenty gold dīnars, port Sastī ten thousand, port Khārapaltan five thousand, port Harcharī five thousand, port Satūll three thousand and five hundred, the port Muhammadabad alias Shadhut five thousand, and the port Khabra five thousand."

Indian Coins—'Muhammadan States'—published in 1885. The coin is illustrated, and is similar to my specimen. The date 718 A.H. appears in full, and it is remarked that Mahmūd Shāh would appear to have been a pretender of Dehli contemporary with Qutbu d-dīn Mubārak Shāh, though his name is apparently not mentioned by the historians.

The coin was published by Mr. Hodgkins in a paper 'On a Coin of Sham-ud Dunyā-wa-ud Dīn Mahmūd Shāh,' which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1892. He remarks on the similarity of type of the coin to issues of 'Alāu d-dīn Muhammad, Shihābu d-dīn 'Umr, and of Qutbu d-dīn Mubārak. It was found, presumably by himself, in a heap containing several of Balban, Ghuzagū d-dīn Tughlaq, Muhammad Tughlaq, 'Alīu d-dīn Muhammad, and one of Nāsiru d-dīn Khusrū. As this Mahmūd Shāh is not mentioned in history, the author then goes on to speculate as to the probable circumstances attending the issue of this coin.

Qutbu d-dīn Mubārak Shāh reigned from 716 to 720 A.H. In the second year of his reign the Sultān got an army together and led it in person to the relief of Deogir in the Dākhan, which was being besieged by one Harpāl Deo. He left Ghulām Bacha Shāhin in Dehli as his deputy, and gave him the title of Wafā Beg. Mubārak Shāh was successful in the expedition, which must have occupied several months. On the way back Asadu-d-dīn, cousin of his father 'Alīu-d-dīn Muhammad, conspired against him, but was betrayed, and was executed together with his accomplices. The Sultān's arrival in Dehli was signalized by a large number of executions, including that of his viceroy Wafā Beg.

Thus there is evidence of a considerable conspiracy at the capital, and the assumption of royal honours by its figurehead during the absence of the sovereign.

The second coin of Mahmūd Shah was found by me in Dehli twenty eight years after the discovery of the first. It also was picked out of a heap of two or three hundred similar issues of the Sultāns from Balban to Muhammad Tughlaq, which was particularly rich in the rare coins of Khusrū Shāh. I may remark here that a third specimen has just been discovered at Dehli, and is in the Cabinet of Mr. Nelson Wright.

LAHORE

R. B. WHITEHEAD

January, 1912

103 A COIN OF 'AZIMU SH SHĀH

Coin No. 903 in the British Museum Catalogue of the coins of the Mughal Emperors, is a silver piece of the usual rupee size exhibiting the following inscriptions —

[N S]

Obverse

عظیم دس پرور
 —————
 بفتح و طغر باد
 ۱۱۲۴
 —————

Reverse

مانوس
 میمنت
 سده احد حاوس
 صوب
 جہانگیر نگر

It purports to be a coin of 'Azim struck in A H 1124, the first year of the reign, at Jahangirnagar. The Persian couplet is redolent of victory, the third line is missing, but the couplet probably runs something like this —

سکہ زد در جہاں بفتح و طغر
 بادشاہ عظیم دس پرور

The coin has been included without any comment among the issues of Farrukhsiyar, and is apparently still unique. The question arises whether it was struck by prince 'Azim, or on his behalf, under circumstances which would justify his inclusion in the list of those pretenders and claimants of the Mughal line who assumed royal honours by striking coin.

Mr W Irvine's paper, 'The Later Mughals,' contains an excellent epitome of their history. It appears that the Emperor Bahādur Shāh was in camp outside Lahore when he died on the 20th Muharram, 1124 A H. (27th February, 1712). The Emperor had scarcely breathed his last when his four sons were ranged against each other in a contest for empire. In 1109 A H, during the last years of the reign of his grandfather Aurangzeb, 'Azimu sh shān, the second son, was appointed governor of Bengal, to which was added Bahar in the year 1114 A H. The then capital of Bengal was Dhakka (Dacca), re-named Jahangirnagar in honour of the Emperor Jahāngir. 'Azimu sh shān did not see his father again until they met at Āgra in 1119 A H (1707), just before the battle at Jajau and the defeat of A'zam Shah. During the years of his absence, Jahāndar Shah, the eldest son, from his inattention to public affairs, lost favour with his father, and spent most of his time in his separate government of Multan. In the earlier years of Bahādur Shāh's stay in the Kabul province, his third son, Rafi'u sh-shān, was his principal adviser and favourite son. In time he was supplanted by the fourth son Jahan Shah, who retained his influence at his father's accession and for some time afterwards. But by the end of Bahādur Shah's short reign, the preponderating influence rested with 'Azimu sh shān, and this, together with the great wealth he had accumulated in Bengal and afterwards, pointed him out to all men as the probable victor in the coming struggle.

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The Rajapūr of this note is to-day the capital of the *a'aliya* of the same name in the Ratnagiri Collectorate. It stands at the head of a tidal creek, 30 miles south east of Ratnagiri town and about 15 miles from the sea. Mandelão bears testimony to the importance of this place in his time (1639). Speaking of Centipour (Jaitapur), the haven at the mouth of the creek, he declares "it is no doubt the best in all the coast for, casting anchor behind the island which shelters it you need not fear being exposed to any wind," and then adds "Three Leagues thence lies the City of Rajapour which is one of the chiefest Maritime Cities of the kingdom of Concan."

Some ninety years later 'Captain' Alexander Hamilton could write —

"There is an excellent Harbour for shipping 8 Leagues to the southward of Dabul [Dābhōl], called Sanguseer [Sangameshvara], but the country about being inhabited by Rajapores, it is not frequented. Nor is Rajapore about 7 Leagues to the southward of Sanguseer, tho' it has the conveniency of one of the best Harbours in the World."

Here in 1637 Courten's Association settled an English Agency, and here too in 1670 Joseph Deslandes² founded a Factory in the interests of the French Company.

Vessels used to sail direct from Rajapūr to Persia and Arabia, and for this reason doubtless that port received the name of Islambandar, just as Sūrāt had come to be called Bandar Mubarak, 'the blessed port'. Orme tells of Aurangzēb's rebellious son, the Sultan Akbar that he hired at Rajapūr a ship commanded by an Englishman named Bandal, and, as soon as the monsoon was changed in October, embarked on her for Mu cat arriving there safely the following month.³

According to the New Edition (1908) of the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rajapūr is also peculiar as the only Ratnagiri port to which Arab boats still trade direct though vessels of any size cannot approach within three miles of the 'old stone quay'. This statement is significant for its bearing on Rajapūr's quondam name of Islambandar.

It is interesting to note that at the period when the Islambandar mint was striking rupees in the name of Aurangzēb (Cir. A.H. 1112) that monarch was campaigning in the neighbourhood of Rajapūr. In his *Muntakhab al Lubab* Khafi Khan gives a detailed account of the expedition in A.H. 1112.

¹ Voyages and Travels of J. Albert Mandelão rendered into English by John Davies of Kidwelly (1662) p. 92.

² A New Account of the East India by Captain Alexander Hamilton (1727) Vol. I p. 241.

³ Storia del Mogor, by Niccolao Manucci translated by Wm. Irvine, Vol. IV. p. 415.

⁴ Historical Fragments by Robert Orme (1808) p. 1-0.

[A S]

against the fortress of Parnala distant twelve miles from Kolhapur and some twenty from Rajapur. The aged Emperor had now indeed fallen on evil days. Marching and counter marching his divisions he took fort after fort only to lose them again. He successively reduced Sitara Parli Parnala Khelna (Vishulgarh) Kandina (Singarh) Purandhar Rajgarh and Torna all in the district dominated by the Western Ghats and, though in the histories no express mention is made of the submission of Rajapur we may safely assume that this town too acknowledged, for a time at least the sway of Aurangzeb.

On the Konkan coast just over against the island (*Ja na*) of Janjira there is another Rajapur. Can this be Islam bandar? We believe not and for the following reasons —

1 This place is generally brought under the double appellation of Danda Rajapur or rather Danda Rajpuri. Danda and Rajpuri being close together.

2 At the time that Aurangzeb was warring against the Marathas in the Dakkhin the Habshi ruler of Janjira and Danda Rajpuri was also contending against the same foes. Thus the Mughal Emperor and the Abyssinian Nawab having a common enemy would in all probability stand on terms of friendship each with the other. That about the beginning of the eighteenth century they entered into a conflict in which Aurangzeb proved the victor with the consequence that his coins issued from a mint in the harbour of the Janjira State, all this is so far as I can learn unsupported by any evidence from history.

3 As a port Danda Rajpuri does not seem to have been held in any special account by the Hajis or other Musalman voyagers across the Arabian Sea and it thus becomes impossible to justify the application to that port of an epithet conveying so high a distinction as Islambandar.

GEO P FAYLOR



Almadabad

1912

100 4 RUPEE STRUCK BY GEORGE THOMAS

Wt 169 grs Size 50

Mint Harsi Sahibabad A H 1214 42

Obv  

صاحب اراد هارسی

سرب

سولوس صمدت مابوس

۱۴۲

۲۱۴

سکه صاحب

و- داند

Pl

Ornamented Umbrella above ☪ on obverse and sun face in both ☪'s of reverse T (almost obliterated) above the ☪

The passage in the *Memoirs* of George Thomas, which states that he established a mint and coined his own rupees, which he made current in his army and country, is well known but no satisfactory attribution of any coin to him has as yet been given. The above coin, which is now in the British Museum, is the piece illustrated in Compton's *Military Adventures of Hindustān*, p. 143, but the description there is, as Mr Burn has pointed out, erroneous (J A S B 1904, p. 82). The coin must nevertheless have been struck by Thomas. The obverse inscription really is a small portion of one of Shah 'Ālam's and not as Cunningham (quoted by Compton) thought a legend referring to Thomas. The date 1214 42 limits the date of issue of this coin to 5th June to 5th October 1799, which is soon after Thomas had firmly established himself in Hansi. The epithet Sahibabad was probably chosen by Thomas in allusion to his favourite title of "Sahib Bahadur". Keene in his *Hindustān under Free Lances*, p. 88, says that he has seen a rupee of Thomas's bearing the title of the Emperor Shah 'Ālam in Persian, with a capital T in English character. The T on this specimen is almost obliterated, but possibly this note may produce a better preserved specimen. The only other coins with Shah 'Ālam's legends on which the sun face occur are of the Indore mint.

J ALLAN

British Museum

Note—I figure my own specimen of this rare coin as it throws some doubt on the reading T over ☪ on the reverse and fills up gaps in the obverse legend which is probably the same as that on No 2325 in vol III of the I V Catalogue. My coin was obtained in the bazar at Delhi in 1903.

H NELSON WRIGHT

106 A CHAHAR TANKI OF AKBAR

Mughal Emperors

Akbar

Weight 241 grs

Size 8

Mint Ahmadabad

Date 46 Yahi.

Month 2 Āban

Obverse

Reverse

اکبر شاه

ادب الی

چم رماکے

۶۶ احمد آباد

مر

This coin is one of the earliest of Ahmadābād tānkis. The inscription on the obverse is very clearly *Chahār Tānkī* (though the چ of تارچ does not actually find a place on the coin) and corresponds to the usual *chau Tankī*. As far as is known, no similar specimen of this or any other mint has yet come to light.

According to Dr Taylor's most informing article in Num Sup IV, *J A S B*, the earliest Ahmadābād tānkī is of Ilāhī 46 Āzar (9th month). The latest Ahmadābād tanka is of Ilāhī 46 Ardībīhīšt (2nd month). There are therefore no copper coins of Ahmadābād known of the months Khūrdād (3rd) Tīr (4th) Amardād (5th) Shahrēwār (6th) Mihr (7th) or Ābān (8th) of this year.

It is extremely probable that this coin fills in the gap between the two types of tanka and tānkī and the word *chahār* was replaced by *chau* later for the sake of uniformity. It is unfortunate that the month name is very much rubbed. The last two letters I take to be 'ān'. If they are, the month Ābān is indicated.

I may here remark that I have in my cabinet an Ahmadābād tanka of Ilāhī 46 with a month name which may be Tīr Shahrēwār or Mihr. It is not worth publication, but it shows that the issue of the *chahār tānkī* was limited to a period of at most four months and perhaps only to one month.

The coin I publish, as representing a short transitional stage, is necessarily very rare.

AHMADĀBĀD

A. MASTER

1912

107 TWO RARE COINS OF MAHMUD I OF GUJARĀT

I R

Weight 113 grs

Size 7

Mint [Ahmadābād]

Date 874 A H in Arabic words

Obverse			Reverse
In square area	In margins	top [سنه]	
السلطان		left اربع	الدنيا
شاه		bottom سدس	ناصر ابو
محمود		right ثمانمائة	والدين
			الفتح

Translation.

Obverse in square area Mahmūd Shah the Sultan
In margin The year eight hundred and seventy-four

Reverse—The defender of the world and of the faith, the father of victory

The coin is of silver with a slight alloy of copper

I have not called the metal billon in view of the definition of the word in Jevons' *Money and the Mechanism of Exchange* Edition of 1850 H. K. King and Co. London pp 130-136 Jevons calls billon a very low alloy of silver and copper and states that in France coins were current at one time containing only one part of silver to five of alloy and that in Norway billon coins are in circulation consisting of one part of silver and three of copper

German billon says Jevons consists of silver alloyed with three to four or more times its weight in copper

It is of a type and weight hitherto unknown in the coins of Mahmud I. It appears that it was Mahmud I and not Muzaffar II who initiated what Mr Wright on his Introduction to the Sultans of Gujarāt I.M.C., calls the 64 rati standard (211.52 grains). The coin is slightly worn in one or two places and its full weight would have been about 16 of Dr Taylor's units rather than 15 as he suggests for the weight of the coins of Muzaffar II which apparently correspond

It is especially interesting to note that the period 870-879 A.H. is the sole decade during the occupation of Gujarat by Ahmad Shāh's dynasty in which the date on coins was expressed in (Arabic) words and not in figures

II Billon Weight 172 grs. Size 7

Mint [Ahmadabad.]

Date 878 A.H. in Arabic words

Obverse in circular area

صحر ساد السلطان

in margin

في سنة ثمان مئتين وسبعمائة

Reverse.

بصر الدنيا والدين انه الخ

The type is distinctly that of Taylor Guj Sult No 43. Dr Taylor has not published this weight of billon coin in his article on the coins of the Gujarat Sultanat referred to in brief above though he has specimens of the type now in his cabinet

There is a copper coin in my possession of the same type dated 879 A.H. The representation of the date in words is possibly in imitation of Muhammad Tughlaq cf I.M.C. p 94 and as I have said on the previous note seems to have been in force for the decade 870-879 A.H. only

It may be remarked that coins of this decade are not often met with. When Dr Taylor wrote his article there were five years of the decade still unrepresented by any metal

AHMADABAD

1912

A. MASTER

I

A.



II



R



R



III

A.



A.



i. Coins of Gāngeya Deva. N. S. XVII, art. 101

ii. Rupees struck by George Thomas. N. S. XVII, art. 105.

iii. Coins of Muẓaffar Shāh of Bengal. N. S. XVI, art. 95.

Note.—The numeration of the article below is continued from p 132 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1912

108 ON THREE GOLD COINS OF THE 'ĀDIL SHĀHI DYNASTY OF BĪJĀPUR

It is a pleasure to be able to announce the discovery of three small gold coins of the 'Ādil Shāhi currency. Casts of two of these were kindly sent me last March (1912) by Mr J Allan of the British Museum. They are undated, but, since bearing the name of Muhammad Shāh, they may be held to have issued during his reign, which extended from 1037 to 1067 A H. The type of these two coins is identical with that of the same King's copper coins, described on page 684, and illustrated on plate xxxix, No 5, of the Numismatic Supplement, No xv. The legends on the obverse and reverse, read consecutively, form the following couplet —

• ہاں رانی دو محمد گروت روت و حاشا
یکی محمد — مرشد دوم محمد — شاه

The weights of the coins are 51·7 and 51·8 grains, and the diameters are between 35 and 4 of an inch

They belong to Colonel Biddulph, who has presented a third specimen to the British Museum.

Now that we have definite proof of the existence of an 'Ādil Shāhi currency in both gold and copper, we may surely hope that the still undiscovered silver coins of this dynasty will soon come to light.

Mr Cousens reminds me that Firishṭa, writing during the reign of Muhammad Shāh's predecessor, Ibrāhīm II, states that "After the dissolution of the Bahmuny dynasty, the several "Kings of the Deccan assumed the chutr, or canopy, and the "Khootba, but none struck coins of gold in their own name, "or sounded the nobut five times daily, excepting the King of "Golconda, styled Kootb Shāh" Briggs's *Ferishṭa*, II 300. It thus appears that Muhammad Shāh was probably the first of the 'Ādil Shāhi rulers to issue gold coins

GEO P TAYLOR

AHMADĀBĀD

April, 1912

[N S.]

Obverse

السلطان

[اعظم عيا] ث

[الدنيا واد] س

Reverse

ابوالمظفر

بهادر ساه

السلطان

Size 6 weight, about 50 grs

Chiyasu d din Bahadur Shah of Bengal was a contemporary of Alaud din Muhammad and the coin is of exactly the same style as those struck by the latter Sultan

I have not heard of any such billon coins of the Bengal Sultans but I stand open to correction

H NEVILL

Etawah 1912

111 ON THE BARODA COINS OF THE LAST SIX GĀIKWARS

Plates XII—XIII

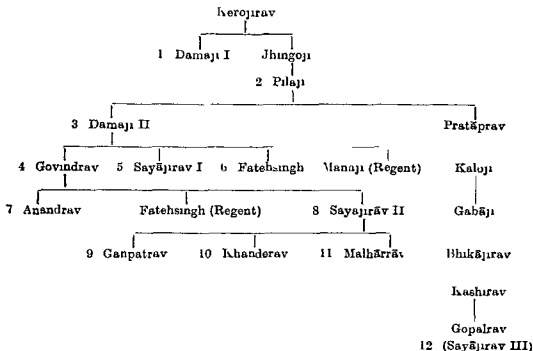
At the Coin Conference held in Allahabad in December 1910 it was resolved that with a view to the compilation of a catalogue of the coins of the nineteenth century collectors be asked to make notes of the Native State issues within or adjacent to their own Provinces' Now the Native State coins most in evidence in the Ahmadabad district are those from the Baroda mint and accordingly bearing in mind the above request I have for the past three months been collecting especially Baroda coins During a delightful week spent in that city I paid repeated visits both to the Museum and to the bazars Inasmuch as it was only some eleven years ago that the mint was closed (2nd July 1900) I had hoped to make while there a fairly complete collection but fortune was not very favourable and in my search Ahmadabad has proved quite as successful a hunting ground as Baroda itself yet now at the end of these three months I am in a position to report on the coins of only the last six Cukwars Of the present dynasty there have been in all (exclusive of Regents) twelve occupants of the Baroda gadi but how many of these caused coins to be struck I have not yet been able to ascertain Simply from the absence of any earlier material I shall in this article confine myself to a description of the coins issued at Baroda within the past hundred years the earliest of my dated specimens being of the second regnal year of Akbar II, corresponding to A H 1222 or A D 1807 Should older coins than this come my way I shall be happy to report on them hereafter Unquestionably however the large majority of the Baroda coins now to be met with are of a late subsequent to A H 1222 and all of these I fancy will be found to be of types mentioned in the present paper With exception of the Khanderav Rupee 1 (4) all the specimens here described are in my own collection

A history of the Gāikwārs and their times is given in considerable detail in the Baroda volume (Vol VII) of the "Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency," but very little indeed of the history is relevant to the legends on the coins. That little I have embodied in the notes that accompany the legends. It will accordingly here suffice to supply a dated list of the Gāikwars and their Genealogical Tree

List of the Gāikwārs of Baroda with the dates of their reigns

A.D.	Name	A.H.
—1721	1 Damājī I	—1134
1721—1732	2 Pīlājī	1134—1145
1732—1768	3 Damājī II	1145—1182
1768—1771	4 Govindrav (first reign)	1182—1185
1771—1778	5 Sayājīrāv I	1185—1192
1778—1789	6 Fatehsingh	1192—1204
[1789—1793	Mānājī (Regent)	1204—1208]
1793—1800	Govindrāv (second reign)	1208—1215
1800—1819	7 Ānandrāv	1215—1235
[1808—1818	Fatehsingh (Regent)	1221—1234]
[1818—1819	Sayājīrāv II (Regent)	1234—1235]
1819—1847	8 Sayājīrāv II	1235—1264
1847—1856	9 Ganpatrav	1264—1273
1856—1870	10 Khandērāv	1273—1287
1870—1875	11 Malhārāv	1287—1292
1875—	12 Sayājīrāv III	1292—

Genealogical Tree of the Gāikwārs of Baroda



Note 1 —Pilaji was not only nephew but also the adopted son of Damaji I

Note 2 —After Malharav's deposit on Jamnabai widow of Khanderav adopted her distant kinsman Gopalrav who ascended the gadī under the name of Sayajirav III

Hitherto only meagre descriptions of Baroda coins have been published. In his "Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum," Mr. Rodgers registers ten silver and four copper specimens, and in Part IV of his Catalogue of Coins purchased by the Government of the Panjab he records seven all of copper. Only two of these twenty one coins are of the pre-Mutiny period and those two are undated.

We shall now proceed to describe *serialim* the silver and copper issues of Baroda mintage from the time of Anandrav Gaikwar till the closing of the mint in 1900. The few small gold coins that have been struck are designed to serve not as a currency but only as nazrana.

ANANDRAV A H 1215—1230 A D 1800—1819

Rs 2—x 4—122x 5—1225 7—1227, 8—1228 (two),
9—1228 (copper silver washed)
x—1228 (half rupee)

Fig 1¹ Obv

اکبر شاہ

۱۲۲۸

بادشاہ عار

مکہ مبار

Rev

مانوس

عیسوی

॥

سنہ حلوس

۳۰

۲۰

Upright scimitar

over من of حلوس

Weight 176 grains

Diameter 9 inch

The regnal year as entered on these coins evidently dates not from 1215 H when Anandray mounted the Baroda gadi, but from 1221 H the year of the accession to the Imperial throne at Delhi of that Akbar whose name stands on the obverse. Colour was thus given to the fiction that these coins had been struck by the authority of the nominal Emperor¹. To indicate, however, that they issued from the mint at Baroda during the reign of the Gukhar Anandray, the first letter of his name in the Devanagari character (अ) was inserted on the reverse. To this letter was added the usual sign of abbreviation (ः) whence the Devanagari symbol in its full form appears as अः॥

For the first six years of Anandray's reign (1215—1221) he was a contemporary of the Mughal Emperor Shah 'Alam. I have no satisfactory specimen of a Baroda rupee struck during the 6 years. A single copper specimen in the Lahor Museum was described as follows by Mr Rodgers —

¹ In describing the coins figured on the Plates I have not hesitated to supplement their legend, if fragmentary from other specimens of identical types.

² 'As usual in the East the provincial rulers without repudiating the technical supremacy of the Emperor became independent.' — J. Owen 'Fall of the Moghul Empire' page vii.

Obv. محمد شاه عالم

Rev

ساده وصل الہ حامی دس

صیدت

کیتار ۷۷ kitār

سده

صرب

نرو

Weight 101 grains

Diameter 75 inch

Grave doubt, however, attaches to the attribution of this coin to the Biroda Mint (Compare Narwar coins)

Mr A Master, I C S, possesses two copper coins of Ānand ray's reign, one dated 8—1229, and the other 13—1233

SALAJIRĀV II A H 1235—1264, A D 1819—1847

A Silver AR 22—1242 35—1255, 38—12xx,
24 x (half rupee)

Fig 2 Obv

اکمیر شاه

۱۲۵۵

دارساز عار

سکه صبار

Rev

صرب

صیدت

۳۱

سده خلوس

۳۵

صرب

نرو

Upright scimitar

to left of سده

Weight 174 grains

Diameter 85 inch

In the 22—1242 rupee the upright scimitar stands, as in the coins of the previous reign, over the س of اسی , and the digits of the regnal year above the ح

Note.—On the half rupee the scimitar lies lengthwise between حوسى and سخت , and the regnal year ش comes not below but above the ح of سخت .

In 1253 H. the Mughal Emperor, Akbar II, died, and his son Bahadur II mounted the Imperial throne, but the Baroda coins still continued even thereafter to bear Akbar's name on the obverse and on the reverse a regnal year reckoned from 1221 H. the year of Akbar's accession. For example though 1255 H. was really the third year of Bahadur's reign, the Baroda rupee of 1255 purports to have been struck in the 35th year of Akbar's reign. Similarly a Baroda piece of 1260 registers its regnal year as 40.

The Devanagari symbol on the coins, both silver and copper of this dynasty appears not as श्र (that is $\text{श} + \text{र}$) but as श्र (that is, $\text{श्र} + \text{र}$), whence it would seem that the first syllable of this Gāikwar's name was held to be not श (Sā) but श्र (Sā).

B. Copper

(1) E 16—1236

Fig 3 *Obv* Same as 1, but year 1236

Rev Same as 1 but year 16 above ح
and upright scimitar over س of سخت

Weight 168 grains

Diameter 5 inch

The legends on this copper coin have thus precisely the same arrangement as on the rupee dated 22—1242

(2) E 36—12xx (two)

Fig 4 *Obv* Same as 1, but year 12xx

Rev श्र

श्र श्र

To right of श्र a stalk of
5 small branches, each tipped with
a tiny bud, thus ✱

Weight 158 grain

Diameter 95 inch

The Devanagari श्र may represent, as Mr Master suggests the word *Julūs*

Recently I have acquired thirteen more specimens of this

[N S]

type. Most of them have been counterstruck, with the result that the inscriptions are deplorably jumbled. One specimen bears quite legibly the regnal year 27, another seems to read 28. The variety of symbols exhibited is remarkable. The five-budded stalk, associated with अ, appears on eight of these thirteen copper coins, on three a flag with streamers flying, on one a trifoliated flower, and on one a circle with twelve issuing rays.

(3) .E 40—1260, 40—x (two) 41—x (two), x—x (two)

Fig 5 Obv Same as A, but year 1260

Rev.

श्री
५०
च
स
रुद्र

Weight 156 grams

Diameter 8 inch.

The disc shaded with vertical lines probably represents a shield, or perhaps an elephant's footprint, as suggestive of royalty, or perhaps the sun.

GANPATRAY A H 1264—1273, A D 1847—1856

A Silver R 44—1265, 46—12xx, 46—x
x—126x (quarter-rupee), x—x (quarter rupee)

Fig. 6 Obv

اکبر شاہ
۱۲۶۵

نادر شاہ غار
سکہ مدار

Rev

مانوس
معدت

श्री
सं
च
५०
रुद्र

Upright scimitar to
left of सं

Weight 175 grams

Diameter 8 inch

The name गणपति happens not to be legible on any of the five silver specimens, but the type of these coins definitely warrants their attribution to the Baroda mint.

Though during the whole of Ganpatrav's reign the occupant of the Imperial throne was Bahadur II, the Baroda silver coins bear on the obverse the name not of Bahadur but of his father Akbar II, and also on the reverse a regnal year dating not from Bahadur's but from Akbar's accession in 1221 H.

As on Savajirav's so on Ganpatrav's coins the Devanagari symbol contains a superfluous *Lāno*, as though the name for which the symbol is an abbreviation were not Ganpatrav but Ganpatrav.

B Copper L 46—x (two) 4x—x (two) x—x (two)

Fig 7 Obv Same as 1 but Hijri year wanting

Rev

गणपति

حاکم دار

عمر

برود

Weight 100 grains

Diameter 1 inch

The 'shield' first introduced on the larger copper coins of the preceding Garkwar is retained on these copper coins of Ganpatrav.

KHANPERAV A.H. 1273—1287 A.D. 1806—1810

A Silver

(1) R 53—127x

Fig 8 Obv

اکبر شاہ

۱۲۷

شاہ دار

عمر

Rev

گणपति

عمر

गणपति

شاہ دار

عمر

برود

برود

Upright scimitar
to left of سنة

Weight 177 grains
Diameter 85 inch

The regnal year of this coin being 53, reckoned from Akbar II's accession in 1221 H, the Hijrī year of issue, which on the obverse is imperfectly recorded as 127x, will have been 1273—74

Here again the abbreviation symbol 𑂔𑂔 would seem to indicate the presence of a 'long a' in the first syllable of the Gaikwār's name—thus Khānderāv rather than Khanderav. Indeed, as we shall presently see, on a coin struck in the last year of his reign his name is written نکاحدراو nKahad erav

[My cabinet contains a silver washed copper coin whose silver coating is almost entirely worn away. Being intended to pass for a rupee of Khanderāv's both the obverse and the reverse of this spurious coin answer to the description given above. Yet it would seem to have been carelessly forged, for though bearing the name-symbol 𑂔𑂔 it records 50 as the regnal year of its issue, corresponding to 1270 H, or some three years earlier than Khanderav's accession to the Baroda gadī.]

(2) The year 1274 H (1858 A D) witnessed the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, and with it the deposition and deportation of Bahādur II, the titular Mughal Emperor. Right on until that year the legend on the Baroda coins testified to their having been struck by the Emperor Akbar II—a mere fiction, of course, yet a fiction retained for full twenty years subsequent to that monarch's death. But now that the last member of the Taimūrī Dynasty was banished the country the retention of the old legend was obviously no longer possible. To have still continued the uttering of coins that carried on their face the acknowledgment of allegiance to the Delhi overlord had been action perilously open to construction as hostility to the British Raj. Hence it came to pass that one minor consequence of the supersession of the Mughal Badshahat was the abandonment by the Gaikwar of that type of coin which had for more than half a century obtained throughout the Baroda territory, and the introduction forthwith of a currency of a distinctly new order. With the end of the Mutiny also ended the Akbar Shāhī mintage of Baroda. Thus a clear line of cleavage divides the pre-Mutiny from the post-Mutiny coins, and the new type of rupee adopted at this crisis by Khanderav Gaikwar merits detailed description.

R. 1274, 127x, 1287, 128x (quarter-rupee),
x—x (eighth of a rupee)

Fig 9 Obv

(٢) ۛۛۛ

ۛ ۛۛ

ۛ ۛۛ

ۛۛ

ۛۛ

ۛۛۛ

Upright scimitar

to left of ۛ

Rev

ۛۛۛ ۛۛۛ

ۛۛ ۛۛ ۛۛ

ۛۛۛ

ۛۛۛ

Weight 175 grains

Diameter 8 inch

The name Khanderaṇ is represented by its first letter 'kh' in the Devanagari character followed by a simple dot (thus ज़). By its side comes now for the first time the symbol ज़ indicating Khanderaṇ's title of गवकवादा Gāvakavada, (*vulg* Gaikwar). Thus, the family name of the founder of the dynasty, is commonly said to mean 'cowherd'.

At the very top of the obverse directly above the ज़ ज़ stands some lettering, or perhaps ornamentation, which seems to be repeated just below the ۛ of ۛۛۛ. If it really be a Persian word, and not mere scroll-work, I can only venture the guess that it may read ۛۛ in one or other of the two places, but surely not in both.

The reverse legend is as follows —

ۛۛۛ ۛۛۛ ۛۛۛ ۛۛۛ ۛۛۛ ۛۛۛ ۛۛۛ ۛۛۛ

Sikka Mubarak Sena Khan Khat, Shamsher Bahadur
The auspicious coin of the Commander of the Special Band,
the Illustrious Swordsman

From the first year of the Emperor Shah Alam Bahadur (A H 1119) the term ۛۛۛ ۛۛۛ comes often on the Mughal Imperial rupees. It would seem indeed to have become almost the accepted designation for the ordinary currency. Thus so early as the fifth year of Farrukh-siyar (A H 1123, A D 1716)

[N S]

the farmān accorded to the East India Company decrees that, "In the Island of Bombay, belonging to the English, where Portuguese coins are current, according to the custom of Chhinipattan, the Fortunate Coins (سکه مبارک) may be struck." On a few Mughal coins the word مبارک does stand at the top of the reverse, but, so far as I can remember, the Baroda rupees are the only ones in which both terms, سکه and مبارک, occupy that position.

میدان خاص خیل — in modern parlance "Colonel of the King's Own" — was an honourable distinction first conferred on Pilaji Gaikwār in A D 1731, when the Peshwa nominated him mutāliq to the youthful Senapati Yashavantrav Dabhade. Before ascending the gadi each Gaikwar would purchase investiture from the Poona overlord, the five lakhs paid by Fatehsing in 1778 being the smallest sum ever accepted as nazr for this title. In 1763 Damaji II defeated Nizam 'Alī at Tandulja on the Godāvari and tradition has it that on this occasion the Rājā of Satara granted the Gaikwar over again the highly prized title of Senā Khass Khail.

شمشیر بہادر, 'the Illustrious Swordsman,' was a title still earlier conferred on the Gaikwar family. Pilaji's uncle and adoptive father, the first Damaji, while an officer under the Senapati, so distinguished himself by his personal valour at the battle of Bālpūr in 1720, that on his return to the Dakhan the Rājā Shahu ennobled him with this decoration of Shamsheer Bahadur.

We have already seen that the pre Mutiny coins of Baroda had in a lax sort of way indicated the regnal year of issue by reckoning it from the accession of Akbar II in 1221 H. The post-Mutiny coins, on the other hand, were content to record the Hijri (or in quite recent times the Samvat) year alone, ignoring the regnal year entirely. Hence these coins show on their reverse no date whatsoever.

(3) R 1287

Fig 10 Obv Collar round rim, enclosing dotted circle, itself enclosing the following Devanāgarī legend, written round the circumference —

सरकार गायीकबाद बना खास खल समर नवादर

Above the horizontal diameter

सरकार

and below it a scimitar, lengthwise, with hilt to left and point to right

Rev. Within collar round rim, and dotted circle
the legend

سکه میر
کامند پو گانکو
۱۲
۱۲۸۷
مر پور

Weight: 176 grains.

Diameter: 1 inch.

The Devanāgarī inscription has altogether omitted the superscribed *mātrā* ('e' vowel), the subscribed *varaḥ* ('u' vowel), and the *anuvṛta* (nasal) symbols. Thus we find

सहराह for शहेराह

ना for ने

सल for सेल

ममहर for ममहेर (= ममहेर

and सदाहर for सदादुर

Sam-her is a quite possible Gujarātī form for Sham-her; but सःदीकवाद, Gāyikavāda, as found on this coin, instead of सदादवाद, Gāyadavāda, is, I fear, a blunder, pure and simple.

On the reverse the Gāikwar's name appears in Persian characters as کامند, which, of course, reads as Kāhanderāṭ.

In the same year 1287, however, a variant of this type of rupee was also struck, in which the letters of the name are ranged normally, and the spelling is now correct, thus کامند, Khanderāṭ.

(4) The Baroda Museum contains three rupees and two half-rupees, of which the obverse bears the same Devanāgarī legend as is present on No (3). The reverse just repeats, but in Persian characters, the circumferential portion of that legend. The arrangement of the words on the reverse is as follows —

Rev. کامند پور
کامند پور
شیر پور
حیل

[N S]

B Copper

(1) Æ 5x—x, x—x

Fig 11 *Obv* Same as A (1), but Hijri year wanting*Rev*

शा

ه حلوس

صوب

برودة

The "shield" surmounted by an object
like an inverted anchor

Weight 130 grains

Diameter 8 inch

Both these specimens, though badly worn, in type so closely resemble the copper issues of Ganpatrav that I feel no hesitation in interpreting the few strokes still exhibited near the bottom of the reverse as scanty survivals of an original *صوب برودة*. The coins are certainly of a pre Mutiny issue

(2) E 1274 (two) 1275 (four),
1276 (half pice 53 grains)

Fig 12 *Obv*

श ना

२७६

صوب

ه

برودة

Above the figures of the
Hijri year a scimitar,
lengthwise, with hilt to right
and point to left

Rev

مسکد صابر

حا ص حیل
سیدا

شیشور

مهاد

Weight 107 grains

Diameter 8½ inch

On the obverse the word below the 𐎠 of 𐎠𐎠 and over 𐎠𐎠 is almost certainly 𐎠𐎠. Two of the seven specimens tend to prove that no word similar in form was present on the die over 𐎠𐎠.

(3) Æ 1262 1280 xxxv (double piece)

Fig 13 Obv

𐎠𐎠

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠

𐎠𐎠

𐎠𐎠

Below the figures of the
Hijri year a scimitar
lengthwise with hilt to right
and point to left

Rev

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠

𐎠𐎠

𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠

𐎠𐎠

Weight 119 grains

Diameter 75 inch

Between the first two digits of the Hijri year the 𐎠 and 𐎠 intrudes a rough representation of a horse's foot from the fetlock downwards.

May not the explanation of the two symbols on the obverse be that the scimitar was chosen since pictorially suggestive of the title 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 written in full on the reverse likewise the horse's foot since reminiscent of that other title there recorded 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠 Commander of the Special Troop (of Cavalry) ?

The undated double-piece weighs 241 grains and measures 8 inch

MALHARRAV A H 1287—1292 A D 1870—1875

1 Silver AR 1290 (two)

1 Skeat inclines to derive the word scimitar or scimeter from 𐎠𐎠𐎠. See Ltym. Dict. sub voce

[N S]

Fig 14 Obv

سدا

मा मा

१२९०

Upright scimitar
to left of मा

Rev

سکه مدار

حاص حیل

سدا

شمشیر

بها

Weight 175 grains

Diameter 75 inch

The overweighted abbreviation symbol π that had obtained on the pre-Mutiny coins is now again brought into service, so that the name Malharav takes the shortened form मा , as though it had been Malharav For मायकबाड however the correct abbreviation मा is adopted Thus the combined symbol comes to be मा मा

The flowing wave like flourish at the very top of the obverse also reappears It may or may not, stand for the word सदा

Both my specimens of this type are thick and dumpy, but had they been thin and broad, they would I fancy, have revealed a legend identical with that on the Khanderav Rupee A (2)

B Copper \mathcal{A} 1289 (four) 128x (four), 12xx (four), 1290, 1xxx 1289 (double pice)

Fig 15 Obv

मा मा

१० २८९

Below the figures of the
Hijri year a scimitar,
lengthwise, with hilt to right
and point to left

Rev

سکه منار
 خاص حیدر
 سیدنا
 شمس
 دہلی

Weight 130 gram
 Diameter 75 inch

As on Khanderav's copper coin B (3) the horse's hoof so here the shaded shield thrusts itself between the *l* and the *r* of the Hijri year 1289

The puzzling flourish is absent from these copper coins its place above the *ش* *ش* being filled by three diamond shaped clusters of dots thus

The lacking portion of the obverse legend contains I have no doubt the words *سب نور* though none of my specimens of this type of coin exhibit them clearly

The double-piece dated 1289 weighs 240 grains and is of 9 inch diameter

One of the four piece dated 1289 was originally a piece of Khanderav's of the B (3) type. It must when counterstruck with Malharav's die have been subjected to a powerful blow for while the old obverse exhibits faintly enough the horse hoof mark on the other side or the new obverse the shield unblushingly appears

SAYAJIRAV III A D 1292 — A D 1875 —

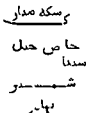
A Silver

1) R 1295 1302 129x (quarter rupee)
 1299 (eighth of a rupee)

Fig 16 Obv

سکه (2)
 شمس
 ۱۲۹۵
 سب
 سید
 نور

Upright scimitar
 to left of *ش*

Rev 

Weight 176 grains
Diameter 8 inch

The name सयाजीराव गायकवाड, Sayajirāv Gayakavada, appears in the shortened form सा गा as though the first element of the name were Sa

On the obverse the wave like lettering, that still awaits elucidation, comes definitely twice, once at the very top, and once near the bottom (over *برودة*)

(2) R Samvat 1949, S 1954, S 1951 (half rupee)
S 1952 (quarter rupee) S 1949 (eighth of a rupee)

(a) Rupee with dotted milling

Fig 17 Obv Dotted circle round rim Bust of Gaikwar to right wearing tasselled turban and sarpech coat richly embroidered To back of bust

श्री सयाजीराव
and to front of bust
म. गायकवाड

Rev Dotted circle round rim Within wreath

एक

रुपया

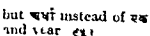
१८४८

Above the figures of the
Samvat year a scimitar,
lengthwise with hilt to left
and point to right

Weight 176 grains
(S 1949 Re) Diameter 1 2 inch
(S 1954 Re) Diameter 1 1 inch

(b) Half rupee with dotted milling

Obv Same as (a)

Rev Same as (a) but 

Weight 87 grains.
Diameter 9 inch

(c) Quarter rupee—no milling

Obv Same as (a)*Rev* Same as (a), but चार

बाणे

instead of एक

वषट्ठा

and year १९१०

Weight 44 grains

Diameter 7 inch

(d) Eighth of a rupee—no milling

Obv Same as (a)*Rev* Same as (a) but दोन

बाण

instead of एक

वषट्ठा

Weight 22 grains

Diameter 625 inch

This new type of coin, so utterly modernized breaks abruptly with its numismatic past. It seems no longer a genuine Native State coin at all but just a feeble far off imitation of the British rupee significant of Young India's adventure into coin land. That unconventional Oriental quaintness which hitherto had lent a peculiar charm to the Baroda coinage has now passed away. Moreover despite the many changes introduced the new coin still remains an alien production pointedly betokening alike by its Marathi characters and its Marathi words the rule of a Maratha within the confines of Gujarat. Fittingly enough it is the gold pieces of this type that serve as nazrana to be ceremonially offered to the Maratha Gāikwar.

The letter म which on the obverse comes between मयाजीराज and मयाकबाद stands for the title महाराजा Maharāja.

The year of issue as entered on the reverse is now for the first time the Samvat year reckoned according to the Vikramaditya era from the vernal equinox of 57 B C.

B Copper

(1) 1. Two-piece pieces, Samvat 1947 S 1949

One piece pieces S 1948 S 1949

(a) Two piece piece

Fig 18 *Obv* Within linear circle

सा गा



Under the 'shield'
a scimitar lengthwise,
with hilt to left and point to right

On some specimens the 'shield' is shaded not with vertical but with horizontal lines

Rev Within linear circle

सधत्

१९४०

दान पैसे

Weight 246 grains
Diameter 1 inch

On the obverse the abbreviation of मायकवाड is गा• which is quite permissible but that of सयाजौराव should have been either स• or सा• rather than सा•

(b) One pice piece

Obv Same as (a)

Rev Same as (a) but एक पैसा instead of दान पैसे
and year १९४९

Weight 123 grains
Diameter 9 inch

(2) 1 Two-pice piece, Samvat 1949
One-pice piece S 1948

(a) Two-pice piece

Fig 19 *Obv* Collar round rim Between two dotted
circles the legend
in upper half

श्री सयाजौराव स मायकवाड
and in lower half

सना साव खेत्त मन्मथर बहादुर

In Area enclosed by inner dotted circle

सन्मथर



Under the horse's hoof a scimitar
lengthwise with hilt to left and point to right

Rev. Collar round rim. Between two dotted circles a wavy line, entwining twelve leaves.

In Area enclosed by inner dotted circle

संवत्
दोन पैसे
१९१८

Weight : 196 grains.
Diameter : 1.2 inch.

(b) One-pice piece.

Obv. Same as (a).

Rev. Same as (a), but एक पै instead of दोन पैसे and year १९१८.

Weight : 93 grains.
Diameter : 1 inch.

(3) .E. One-pie piece, Samvat 1916.

Fig. 20 : Obv. Between two dotted circles round rim the legend

in upper half

श्री मायकबाद

and in lower half

बडोदे

Area same as that of 2 (a).

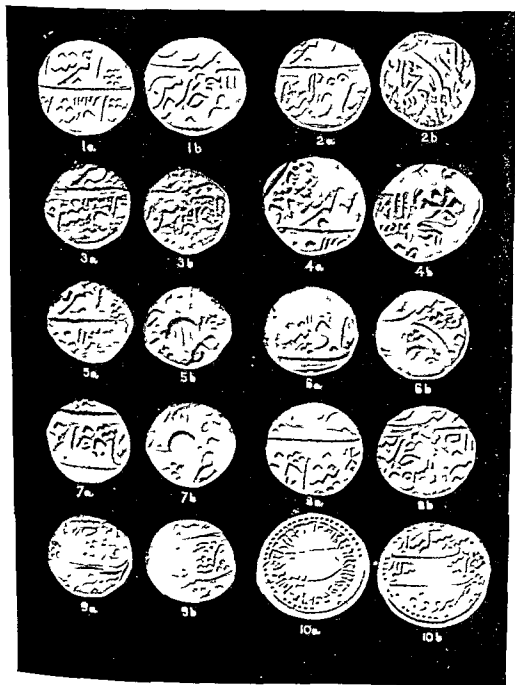
Rev. Same as 2 (a), but एक पै instead of दोन पैसे and year १९१६.

Weight : 41 grains.
Diameter : .75 inch.

In order to illustrate this article representations of twenty Baroda coins are given on the accompanying plates. My enthusiastic young friend Mr. Nadirshah P. Talati, of the Gujarat Arts College, was so kind as to take impressions of these coins, from which Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., late Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, with his unfailing kindness prepared admirable photographs. To both these gentlemen I desire to express my warm thanks

GEO. P. TAYLOR.

Ahmedabad : 1911.



BARODA COINS.



BARODA COINS.

112 THE COINS OF THE KINGS OF AWADH
Plates XVI—XVIII

As far as I have been able to gather no article has ever appeared dealing in any way with the series of coins issued by the Kings of Awadh. The following account cannot pretend to supply this deficiency—it is based primarily upon a collection made by myself during the past two years, and on an examination of the collection of Awadh coins in the Lucknow Museum. A manuscript catalogue of the coins of this dynasty in the British Museum was kindly sent me by the Keeper of Coins and Medals, Mr H G Grueber, in using which I have had in some cases to resort to conjecture. The catalogue at the end of this article may at least be of use to collectors who possess any of these coins.

Of the collections of Awadh coins which exist in public museums, that in the British Museum (not at present catalogued in print) is the most representative—it possesses most of the types issued by the different kings in all three metals. There is a fair collection of the silver coins in the Lucknow Museum (also uncatalogued). There was a small but valuable collection among the coins of Mr L White King, now, I believe, in the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. The scanty representatives of the series possessed by the Indian Museum and the Lahore Museum appear in the respective catalogues of those collections drawn up by Rogers.

The little interest which these coins have attracted is due probably to three reasons—they are of comparatively recent issue, there are among them very few specimens of peculiar interest or rarity, and there is, at least at first sight, a lack of variety in the series, the prescribed pattern for the year is repeated on every coin of that year whatever its denomination, in all three metals.

There are, however, among them some admirable examples of the moneyer's art, some of Wajid 'Ali's gold and silver coins, for example, the script on the obverse of which is little inferior to the script on the Moghul coins of the best period. From the artistic point of view, too, the Coronation medal of Ghazi ud din Haidar is an interesting piece of work while the representation of figures on the coins of Musulmans is always a curiosity. In addition to these recommendations there are one or two problems awaiting solution.

In the history of the dissolution of the Mughal Empire, and the final supremacy of the East India Company in Northern India no province played a more important part than Oudh or Awadh. The founder of the line of Nawab-Vazirs, who ruled there for 137 years always more or less independently of the authority of the Court at Delhi, was Muhammad Amin, better known as Sa'adat Khan. He was descended from a

[N S]

On his coins he calls 1233 his first year (حَد), and as there are apparently no coins of 1234 with حَد it seems probable that for purposes of coinage, he reckoned his first regnal year as beginning on 1st Moharram 1233 not considering it worth while to alter the date merely for ten days¹. During the year 1234 however, two kinds of coins had already appeared. One issue he had coined in the name of Shah 'Alam and had adopted for the obverse of his coins the legend on the reverse of the Banaras rupees of the 26 san issue² (1211 1233 II) which had been superseded in that very year in Banaras by rupees of the Farrukhabad type. These coins also retain the 26 san on the reverse. The second issue has the date 1234 on the obverse and the year 3 on the reverse that is the fifth year of his Nawabi the type is the same as the coins of 1233. This second kind cannot have been issued earlier than 22nd Rajab 1234, when the fifth year of his Nawabi began.

It is possible then that the 26-san coins were used during the earlier part of 1234 that is for even months up to 22nd Rajab and the 3-san coins after that date. On the other hand the 3-san coins may have been used only during the last ten days of 1234 from 18th Zulhijja to the end of the year. The latter view is supported by the comparative rarity of the 3-san coins there is however one fact which seems to contradict this theory the Coronation medal which one would imagine was issued on the Coronation day has the date حَد which is applied as we have seen to no coin of 1234. There is no Hijra date on the medal so it may have been struck on Nawroz 1233. On the other hand it is just possible though exceedingly unlikely that the 123 حَد coins were in use from 18th Zulhijja 1234. The coins of the 5th Nawabi year 1234 and of all succeeding years bear the following couplet —

سده - رستم و را فصل - والى
عالم الدين حمد على سب سده مى

(Izzu'd-din Haider of lofty lineage King of the World struck coins in gold and silver by the grace of the great and Almighty God. There are two coins of 1233 I R (Nos 8 and 9) the only Awadh coins of the kind that I have come across

¹ Had the regnal year started from 18th Zulhijja 1234 it would have been necessary to change the Hijra date after ten days in each succeeding regnal year. In the case of all the other Kings of Awadh there are two Hijra dates for each regnal year since the regnal year begins in the middle of the Hijra year: each case. Hence there are two sets of coins for each Hijra year.

² As Mr Nelson Wright has pointed out (Introduction to IIC Catalogue Vol III under the name Muhammad Bad) this series was probably struck for currency in Awadh. They are known in the Lucknow bazars as 'Alafidaula rupees.

which differ from the prescribed pattern of the year. They are without any mint name on the reverse, and lack the couplet on the obverse giving merely the name *Ghaziu d din* possibly they were coined for use as *nisārs*.

In the second year 1236 the title of Lakhnau was changed from *دار الاماره* the 'Abode of Government' *دار السلطنت* the 'Abode of the Sultān'. This may perhaps have been intended as a further assertion of independency.

The following denominations are said to have been coined by all the kings. In gold—the *ashrafi* or gold mohur, half, quarter, eighth and sixteenth of a mohur. Of the three last I have only seen specimens coined by *Wajid 'Ali*, but it is quite possible that similar coins of the other kings may turn up since the corresponding sizes in silver are known. In silver there were in the same way the rupee, half, quarter, eighth, and sixteenth of a rupee. In most cases the rupee die was made to serve for the smaller pieces, so that they are very imperfect, but *Ghaziu d din*, *Nasiru d din*, and *Wajid 'Ali* in certain years had dies engraved of the required sizes.

In copper, the *Falus* of an average weight of 180–185 grains (though the British Museum specimens in several cases reach 200 grains) is the only copper coin known to have been issued by the first four kings. There is a coin of *Wajid 'Ali*, of half this weight (No. 67) in the British Museum, and a $\frac{1}{4}$ *Falus* of the year 1270 of careful workmanship is not uncommon.

Ghaziu d-din died on 1 Oct. 20th 1827 (28th *Rabi' I*, 1243), and was succeeded by his son *Nasiru d-din Haider*. For the first two years of his reign the following couplet appears on the obverse of his coins —

بهر مسکه شاهى رده راطف الله

سپهر مرتبه شاه جهان سليمان حاه

"In the world, by the grace of God, the royal coin has been struck with (the name of) the king of the world,² *Sulaiman Jah* the high exalted one." In 1245 3 R., the obverse legend was altered, the following couplet being substituted —

مسکه رد بر ستم و زر از فضل حق قل الله

نائب مهدى نصر الدین حيدر نادر شاه

¹ Beale, 19th Oct. 1827 (27th *Rabi' ul awal* 1248).

² The only record of this name that I have been able to find occurs in an account of the 'Princes of India by an officer in the service of H.E.I.C.,' published in Edinburgh 1831. On the decease of *Ghaziu d-din Haider* in 1827 he was on 9th Oct. of that year succeeded by his son *Shah Zaman* who is styled His Majesty *Abou Nuseer Kootub-ood-deen Sulman Jah, Zaman Padshah* king of Oude."

[N S]

"The Nub of Mehdi, Nasru d din Haider, the king, struck coins in silver and gold under the grace and protection of God"

The reverse of both these types was similar to that used by Ghazlu-d-din from 1236 onwards. In 1247 certain silver coins of $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee value, and perhaps of other values also, were struck from dies made of the same size as the coin, this attempt to produce a better type of small silver coin, perhaps the outcome of one of the numerous whims of the king, did not apparently outlive the year.

In 1249 (7 R) the design on the reverse was altered both arms and inscription remained the same, but the latter was placed in one line running round the arms, instead of at the top, bottom and sides of the coin, the regnal date was removed from the centre of the coin and included in the circular inscription.

Nasru d-din Haider died on 7th July 1837 (3rd Rabi' II, 1253) from poison. For three hours the Bidshah Begum, wife of Ghazlu d din, supported the claims of the supposed son of the late king Muna Jan, this Zenana intrigue was, however, quelled by the Resident Sir John Low the same night and in the morning the brother of Ghazlu-d-din was sent for and placed on the throne under the name of Muhammad 'Ali Shāh. An abler man than either of his two predecessors, he reformed the administration and strove in his short reign to replenish the treasury which had been almost emptied to satisfy the extravagant fancies of the last king. The state and magnificence of the first two kings had been maintained entirely out of the treasure left by S idit Ali khān and Muhammad 'Ali by his economic measures stayed the downfall of his house for two more generations. It is not surprising therefore that his coins are less plentiful than those of the other kings. He adopted a new coat of arms, substituting for the tigers two female figures, which appear bareheaded in the silver and gold coins of the first two regnal years but in subsequent years wear the peculiar broad brimmed hat which was the fashion of his time. He placed the following couplet on his coins —

بعود وكرم سكه در جهان محمد علي بادشاه زمان

Muhammad Ali, king of the Universe, by his grace and benevolence struck coins in the world.

In the first three regnal years the inscription of the reverse of all coins is ضرب صوة ودة بنت السلطنة لكيدو. In 1256 he substituted صوة اودة for صوة اودة.

Muhammad Ali died on May 17th, 1842 (5th Rabi' II, 1258) and was succeeded by his son Amjad Ali Shah. The device which he adopted for the reverse of his coins was a fish,

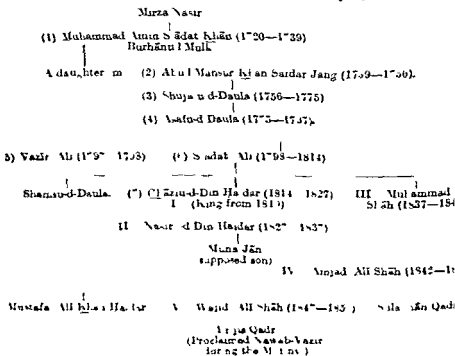
One tradition states that Brijis Qadr sent an embassy to Bahadur Shah at Dehli, which besides presents carried a design for a proposed new coinage for Awadh, that this design was approved by the Mughal and would have become current on the following New Year's day had not other events intervened. Raja Durga Prasad of Sandila in his *Bostan-i-Awadh*, however, says that the embassy found the Mughal in the hands of the English and returned. Nevertheless I have been able to obtain the traditionary couplet which was to have been placed on the coins —

سکہ در مردم و در چو مروندر نایشاز خرم چشم رخسار قد

Whether this is genuine or not I cannot say. The title *badshah* and the striking of coins at all conflicts with the account that he was made *Nawab Vazir*. In the *Bostan-i-Awadh* he is called *وہاب*, which is dubious. On the defeat of the mutineers in Lucknow Brijis Qadr fled to Nepal.

Note.—Most of the tradition about Brijis Qadr was obtained from the old Mirza who supplied the information about Wajid Ali Shāh's coins.

Genealogical Table of the Vauwāb-Vazirs and Kings of Awadh



COINS

GHAZI D-DIN HALDAR, 1819-1827, A H 1234-1243

Types

- A (1234) In the name of Shah ' Alam, with the date of his regnal year 26 struck at لکھنؤ دار لا ماره لکھنؤ
B (1234) In his own name, dating from his accession to the Nawabi in 1229 A H
C (1234-5 L R) In his own name but dating from his Coronation in 1234 A H
D (1235 2 R —End of Reign) As type C, but change in title of Lakhnau دار السلطنت

Gold.

No 1 Type A

Wt 165 Size 10

Date 1234 A H, 26 R

Obverse

دار الله محمد
حامی دین شاه عالم
سنه ۱۲۳۴
کشور
بر حق
کجه رد

Symbol شاه ح below

Reverse

Arms of Awadh Two fishes facing one another enclose ۲۶ سند, and support a khat surmounted by a crown A tiger on either side with head turned outwards, holding a flag, as supporters Above arms

دار الاماره لکھنؤ سند

To right — خلوص, To left

صوبه صوبه وده عاویس

British Museum

No 2 Type B

Wt 165 Size 10

Date 1234, 5 R

Obverse

ار فضل دو المدی
رب
عالی الدین حیدر عا
ل
۱۲۳۴

Reverse

As No 1, but ۵ سند

نست ساه ومن
 ۸۵

در نر ساه و

No 3 Type D

Wt 160 Size 10
 Dat 1236 2 R

British Museum

Obverse

As No 2 but ۲۲۶

Highest wt 160
 Lowest 160

Reverse

As No 1 but ۱۱۱
 and ۲۲۶

British Museum

Years (a) 1237 3 R (1602)
 B M
 (b) 1238 4 P (1608)
 B M
 (c) 1239 5 R
 (1605) B M
 (166) I M C
 (d) 1241 7 R (160)
 B M

Silver

No 4 Coronation Medal of Chizuddin

Wt 120 Size 31

Described by (1) H H Wilson Num Chron Vol V 1843
 pp 129-133
 (2) H Nelson Wright J A S B Num Suppl
 pt I p 11

British Museum

No 5 Type A
 Wt 170 Size 100
 Date 1234 26 R

As No 1 only in silver B M

No 6 Type B
 Wt 170 Size 100
 Date 1234 5 R

As No 1 only in silver B M

No 7 Type C
 Wt 1708 Size 10
 Date 1235 1 P

Obverse

As No 2 but ۲۲۶

Reverse

As No 1 but ۱۱۱

British Museum
 I M C (173)

[VS]

No 8 Special type
Wt 21 21 Size 5
Date 1235, 1 R
 $\frac{1}{8}$ Rupee

Obverse

۱۲۳۵
حد
عاري الدين
سـ
ر۴

Reverse

Arms of Awadh alone
including احد

No 9 Special Type
Wt 10 21 Size 4
Date 1235 1 R
Rupee

C J B

Obverse

حد
عاري الدين
۱۲۳۵
سـ

Reverse

As No 8

C J B

No 10 Type D
Wt 172 5 Size 10
Date 1236 2 R
Highest wt 172 5
Lowest 167 9

As No 4 only in silver

B M

C J B (167 9)

Years (a) 1237 3 R (172)

C J B

(b) 1238 4 R (170 6)

C J B

(c) 1239 5 R (172)

C J B.

(d) 1241 7 R (171 4)

C J B

(e) 1242 8 R (171 9)

C J B

(f) 1236 6 R (155 77)

C J B

No 11
Wt 86 4 Size 5
Date 1233 4 R
 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee

Obverse and reverse as No 10
B M.

No 12
Wt. 21.65 Size 17
Date — 8 R
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee.

As No 10, but most of the inscription is gone, only the centre of arms remaining on the reverse. Struck from a rupee-size die

C I.B

Copper

Note — In the case of all copper coins of the Kings of Awadh some of the inscription is always wanting (the few exceptions will be notified) There are an infinite number of minor varieties in type, no two dies being exactly identical. The copper coins were however intended to follow the type of the gold and silver coins of each year, the small ornaments and embellishments which appear on the latter are, however, in general wanting.

No 13 Type A
Wt 167.2 Size 9
Date 1234, 26 R
One of my coins has a cross under كشر

As No 1, only in copper
B M
C J B (179 75)

No 14 Type B
Wt 186.5 Size 96
Date 1234, 5 R

As No 2, only in copper
B M.

No 15 Type C
Wt 184 Size 95
Date 1235, 1 R

As No 7, only in copper
B M
C J B (181 17).

No 16 Type D
Wt 185 Size 9
Date 1236, 2 R

As No 3, only in copper
B M
C J B (180 32)
Years (a) 123 \, 3 R (181 75)
C J B
(b) 123 \, 4 R (182 63)
C J B

Many copper coins plated with silver, intended to be passed as rupees, exist. I have one with traces of silver upon it dated 1240, 6 R, weighing 152.8 grains. It is much finer than the ordinary copper coin and was struck from the rupee-die or an imitation of it.

NASIRU D DIN HAIDAR, 1827-1837, A H 1243-1253

Types

- A (1243-1245, R 1-2) In the name Sulaiman Jah
B (1245-1249, 6 R) In the name Nasiru d din

C. (1249, 7 R -1253) Arms altered on the reverse in-
scription in one line round the
arms

Gold

No 17 Type A
Wt 165.4 Size 95
Date 1243, 1 R

Obverse

الله حاکم
سید سلیمان
میرزا شاه جهان
سید سلیمان
۱۲۴۳
رداء لطیف
ع
بر هر مسکه شا

Reverse

Arms as in Ghāzī-d dīn's
coins above دار السلطنت
لکھنؤ صمدیہ
To left مانوس, To right حلوس,
Beneath صوبہ صمدیہ اودہ
In middle of arms سید احمد

Both obverse and reverse are enclosed in a circle of dot
and the ground of both is ornamented with rosaces

B M

Years (a) 1244, 1 R (165 5)

B M

Silver

No 18 Type A
Wt 171.4 Size 10
Date 1243 1 R

As No 17 only in silver

B M

Years (a) 1244, 2 R (171 1)

B M

No 19
Wt 85.64 Size 79
Date 1244, 2 R
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee
Struck from rupee size
die

As No 18, but arms and date
alone appear on reverse
much of inscription wanting
on obverse

C J B

No 20 Type B
Wt. 171.9 Size 9.
Date 1246 3 R

Obverse

بادشاہ

خاندان

۱۲۴۶

مہدی ناصر الدین

ار فضل حق ظل اللہ

عزیز

دود نرسیم و در

Reverse

As No 17, but ۳۳۳

C J B

Years (a) 1247, 4 R (171 7)

C J B

(b) 1247 5 R (172 2)

C J B

(c) 1248 5 R (171 7)

C J B

(d) 1248 6 R (170 3)

C J B

(e) 1249 6 R (170 7)

C J B

No 21

Wt 86 Size 8

Date 1246 3 R

 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee

As No 20

B M

C J B (60 63)

Years (a) 1248 5 R (54 87)

C J B

No 22

Wt 41 12 Size 6

Date 1247 5 R

 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee

As No 20 The die in this case was the same size as the coin it is of good workmanship and similar in size and thickness to the E I C four anna pieces

C J B

No 23

Wt 42 5 Size 6

Date 1248 5 R

 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee

As No 20 Struck from a rupee size die much of inscription wanting

C J B

No 24

Wt 21 5 Size

Date 1248 4 R

 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee

Years (a) 1248 6 R (42 6)

B M

As No 20 Struck from a die larger than the coin

B M

No 25

Wt 172 3 Size 11

Date 1249, 7 R

Obverse

Reverse

As No 20, but 1783

Both obverse and reverse have their ground ornamented with roses and are surrounded by a border of rays

Arms Supporters, two tigers holding pennants as before but the two fish enclose kalih instead of the usual year—Crown instead of kalih above fish, and umbrella surmounts crown
Inscription in one line round the arms — *سرب صوبه اوده در*
سلطنت لکھنؤ سده ۱۲۰۱
صوبه بنارس

B M

There are small ornaments under the word *بنارس* which vary slightly with each year

Years (a) 1200 7 R (1702)
(C J B)

(b) 1200 8 R (1703)
(C J B)

(c) 1201 8 R (1724)
B M

(d) 1202 9 R (1725)
(C J B)

(e) 1203 10 R (1726)
(C J B)

No 26

Wt 86.34 Size 8
Date 1200 7 R
1 Rupee

As No 20 Struck from a rupee size die
(C J B)

No 27

Wt 4.2 Size 6
Date 1200 8 R
1 Rupee

As No 20 Struck from a die larger than the coin
B M

Years (a) 1200 9 R (428)
B M

No 28

Wt 20.7 Size
Date 1201 8 R
1 Rupee

As No 20 Struck from a die of much larger size than the coin
B M

No 29

Wt 10.64 Size 37
Date 1202 8 R
Rupee

As No 20 Struck from a rupee size die Most of the inscription is gone
C J B

I have a specimen of 1201 3 R which measures only 28. Some of these coins are very crudely executed

Note—In type C, owing to the altered position of the regnal year, it is almost impossible to obtain specimens of the smaller denominations which retain both regnal and hijra years

Copper

No 30 Type A
Wt 177.39 Size 9
Date 1243 1 R

Inscription as No 17, plain ground

C J B

Years (a) 1244, 1 R (180 01)

C J B

(b) 1244, 2 R (181 81)

C J B

No 31 Type B
Wt 170.05 Size 9
Date 1245 3 R

Inscription as No 20—there are traces of a dotted border on this coin—and the ground is ornamented with rosaces the majority of coins of this type are without these ornaments

C J B

Years (a) 1246 3 R (183 3)

B.M

(b) 1246 4 R (185)

B M

(c) 1248, 5 R (185)

B M

(d) 1249 6 R (186 01)

C J B

No 32 Type B
Wt 182.51 Size 9
Date 1246, 4 R

As No 20

An exact replica of a rupee in copper

C J B

There is not the least trace of silver on this coin also it may be noted that two silver plated coins, one in my own collection, noticed under the coins of Chāzu-d-dīn, and one in the B M collection of Nasru-d-dīn 1248, 5 R, weigh 152.8 grains and 150 grains respectively. If the coin under notice once was silver plated it must have been somewhat heavier still and hence rather heavy to pass for a rupee, the average weight of which is 170 grains. I conceive it to be possible that this coin is a model of a rupee in copper perhaps a proof. A similar coin of Wajī l 'Alī Shāh will be noticed later

No 33 Type C
Wt 180.5 Size 9
Date 1249, [7] R

Inscription as No 20

B M

Years (a) 1250, 7 R (187 23)

C J B

[N S]

MUHAMMAD 'ALI SHĀH, 1837—1842, A H 1253—1258

*Types*A (1253—1256, 3 R) Struck at صوبہ اودہ بیت لسلطنت لکھنؤB (1256, 4 R—1258) Struck at ملک اودہ بیت لسلطنت لکھنؤ

Note—There is a slight difference between the silver and gold coins of the 1st and 2nd regnal years (1253—5) and those of the succeeding years. On coins of the 1st and 2nd years the women (supporters) are bare headed. In those of the succeeding years they wear hats, also the numeral 1 above the fish disappears after the first year. I have not considered this as a separate type because the variety is slight and in the copper coins it is difficult to say whether the distinction is maintained. These latter are very crude but in one coin of the 3rd regnal year which I possess the women seem to be bare-headed.

Gold

No 34 Type A

Wt 165.5 Size 95

Date 1253, 1 R

Obverse

رمان
ش
در حهاں محمد علی باد
۱۲۵۳
م
نعود و کرم

A border of rays on both
obverse and reverse*Reverse*

Arms, as follows—In centre, one fish surmounted by figure 1, supporters two women with hands supporting crown and standing on a scroll

Inscription reading round
arms—

صوبہ اودہ بیت لسلطنت
لکھنؤ سید احمد خاں صید

B M

Years (a) 1253 3 R (1654)

B M

Silver

No 35 Type A

Wt 171.9 Size 90

Date 1253, 1 R

There are various symbols on these coins—another specimen of 1253, 1 R has a trefoil leaf 11 over حهاں

As No 34, only in silver

10 over حهاں C J B

Years (a) 1254, 1 R (1717)

C J B

(b) 1254 2 R (1714)

B M

No. 35 (a) has 12. (c) 1253, 2 R. L.M.
(d) 1255, 3 R. (172). B.M.

No 36 (e) 1256, 3 R (172 3). C.J.B.
Wt. 41.7 Size 6
Date 1254, X R As No. 35. Struck from die
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee larger than the coin. B.M.

No 37 As No. 35 Struck from rupee-
Wt 20.5 Size 5 size die B.M.
Date 1254, X R
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee
Years (a) 1255, X R. (20 91). C.J.B.

No. 38 Type B
Wt 172 Size 1
Date 1256, 4 R

Obverse

As No 35, but 1257

Reverse.

Arms as No 35, but inscription
صرب ملك اورا ييب
السلطنة لكيدو سنة ٨٠٥
ميمت مانوس
B.M.

Years (a) 1257, 5 R (172 3). C.J.B.

(b) 1258, 5 R. (171 4). C.J.B.

No 39.
Wt 21. Size 5
Date 1256, X R
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee

As No 38 Struck from die
larger than the coin. B.M.

Copper.

No. 40 Type A
Wt 185.46 Size 85
Date 1253, 1 R

As No 34, but in copper. C.J.B.
Years (a) 1254, 1 R (181-04). C.J.B.
(b) 1255, 3 R. (176 85). C.J.B.

AMJAD 'ALI SHĀH, 1842-1847, A.H. 1258-1263.

Gold.

No. 41.

Wt. 165. Size '9.

Date 1259, 2 R.

Obverse.

شاه زمی عالم پناه علی

نقاید اله ظل حق امجد

۱۲۵۹

ع

در جهان رد سکه شا

Circle of rays on both obverse
and reverse.

Reverse.

Arms as follows:—Fish, sur-
mounted by crown, sur-
mounted by umbrella—two
curved swords enclosing the
whole. Inscription round
arms: ضرب ملک اوده میت
السلطنت لکھنؤ سنه ۲ حلوس
عیسیت مانوس

B.M.

Years (a) 1260, 3 R.

W.-K. Cat , 5159

Silver.

No. 42.

Wt 172 2. Size 1

Date 1258, 1 R.

As No 41, only in silver.

C J B.

Years (a) 1259, 1 R. (172).

B.M.

(b) 1259, 2 R. (171-41)

C J.B.

(c) 1260, 2 R (169-89).

C.J.B.

(d) 1261, 3 R (172).

B.M.

(e) 1261, 4 R (171-4).

C.J.B.

(f) 1262, 4 R (171 7).

C J.B.

(g) 1262, 5 R. (171-5).

B.M.

(h) 1263, 5 R.

B.M. (Bleazby).

As No. 42 Struck from a
rupee-size die.

C.J.B.

Years (a) 1260, 3 R.

W.-K. Cat., 5162.

No. 43

Wt. 85 89. Size '76.

Date 1259, 2 R

$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee.

No. 44.

Wt. 42.66. Size 6.

Date 1259, X R.

 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee.As No. 12. Struck from a
rupee-size die.

C.J.B.

No. 45.

Wt 20.9. Size 5

Date 1261, X R

 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee.As No. 12 Struck from a
rupee-size die.

B.M.

Another specimen in the B.M. has only *tr.* and the regnal date is also wanting.

No 46

Wt 10.66 Size 4.2.

Date XXXX, X R.

 $\frac{1}{4}$ RupeeAs No. 12. Struck from a
rupee size die.

C.J.B.

Copper.

Note —The copper coins vary considerably in minor details, especially in the shape of the crown.

No 47.

Wt 203.5 Size 1.1

Date 1258, 1 R

As No. 41, only in copper.

B.M.

C.J.B. (178.73).

Years (a) 1259, X R. (182.48)

C.J.B.

(b) 126X, 3 R (181.32).

C.J.B.

(c) 1261, X R. (183).

B.M.

WĪJID 'ALĪ SHĪH, 1847-1856, 1263-1272.

Types.

A. (1263-1267, 4 R.) Struck at ملک اودہ دست السلطنت
لکھنؤ

B₁ (1267, 5 R) Struck at ملک اودہ اخترنگر

B¹ (1267, 5 R -1272) Struck at دست السلطنت لکھنؤ ملک
اودہ اخترنگر

¹ The coins of this type of the years 1270, 8 R -1271, 9 R, for copper and gold, and 1271, 8 R -1271, 9 R, for silver, almost constitute a separate type, they are distinguished by an elongated type of scroll which gives them a very distinctive character. Also a distinct attempt to improve the coinage is noticeable, especially in the copper coins, of these years, in this connection the weight of the gold mohur No 50 should be remarked.

[N S]

Gold.

No. 48. Type A

Wt 165.2 Size 9.

Date 1266, 4 R

Obverse

سلطان عالم نادر شاه علی
تائید الہ ظل حق واحد

۱۲۶۶

وہ
سکہ رد برسیم و زر ار

Surrounded by a circle of
rays

Reverse

Arms — Supporters, two mer-
maids holding clubs out-
wards and pennants inwards
Between staffs of pennants,
a shield or boss in centre,
above shield, crown sur-
mounted by an umbrella, a
parrot perching on umbrella,
below, two swords and
crossed clubs, a scroll be-
neath all.

Around arms صرب ملک اودہ
دست السلطنت لکھنؤ سنہ ۸ حلوی
میدخت مانوس

Surrounded by a circle of rays
B M

Years (a) 1267, 4 R (165 2)
B M

No 49

Wt 20.60 Size 48

Date 1265, 2 R

 $\frac{1}{8}$ mohur

No 50 Type B

Wt 187.34 Size 97

Date 1270, 8 R

As No 48 Struck from a die,
the size of the coin

C J B

Obverse

As No 48, but rev.

Reverse

Arms as No 48, but inscrip-
tion صرب بیت السلطنت لکھنؤ
ملک اودہ اختر نگر سنہ ۸ حلوی
میدخت مانوس

C J B

Years (a) 1272, 9 R (163 2).

B M.

Note — The coins of 1272 9 R and 10 R are much finer
than the earlier coins of this type In each year the scroll on
the coins of this type varies a little

No 51

Wt 41.35 Size 52

Date 1269, 6 R

 $\frac{1}{2}$ mohur

As No 50 Die the same size as the coin.

C J B

Years (a) 1268, —R

W-K Cat, 5165

No 52

Wt 11.58 Size 39

Date 1270, 1 R

 $\frac{1}{4}$ mohur

As No 50 The die of the obverse fits the coin the reverse die is slightly larger than the coin, the arms only appearing on it

C J B

Years (a) 1272, 9 R (10 26)

C J B

Silver

No 53 Type A

Wt 171.6 Size 10

Date 1263, 1 R

As No 48, but in silver

C J B

Years (a) 1264, 1 R (169 89)

C J B

(b) 1265, 2 R (171 6)

C J B

(c) 1265, 3 R

L M

(d) 1266, 3 R (172 3)

C J B

(e) 1266, 4 R (171 6)

B M

(f) 1267, 4 R

L M

No 54

Wt 85.95 Size 8

Date 1265, 2 R

 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee

As No 53, the die is the same size as the coin

C J B

No 55

Wt 42.42 Size 6

Date 1265, X R (probably 2)

 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee

As No 53, the die is larger than the coin

C J B

No 56

Wt 21.3 Size 5

Date 1265, 2 R

 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee

As No 53, die probably same size as the coin, as both Hijra and regnal date can be read

B M

No 57 Type B₁

Wt 171.7 Size 93

Date 1267 5 R

Obverse

Reverse

As No 53

As No 53, but inscription
صوب ملك اودة اكر نگر
سنة ٥ حلوس مديت مانوس

C J B

Note—This is the only specimen of this type of coin that I have come across. At first I imagined that it might be a specimen of Type B, and that the words *سب السلطنت* and *لهندو* though inscribed on the die, had missed the coin but there is not the slightest trace of any of these. It may therefore be either (1) a trial piece (this year, 1267 α R is the first year of the new type B), or (2) a defective die in which part of the inscription was omitted by mistake.

No 58 Type B

Wt 169.82 Size 98

Date 1268 6 R

As No 50 only in silver

This is a very crude coin

C J B

Years (a) 1267 α R

L M

(b) 1268 α R

L M

(c) 1269 6 R (172 2)

C J B

(d) 1269 7 R

L M

(e) 1270 7 R (169 86)

C J B

(f) 1270 8 R (171 4)

C J B

(g) 1271 8 R (170 6)

C J B

(h) 1271 9 R (171 6)

B M

(i) 1272 9 R

L M

(j) 1272 10 R (171 3)

B M

Nos 58 (i) and (j) are larger and more finely executed coins than Nos (a)–(f) but are without the elongated scroll of Nos (g) and (h).

No 59

Wt 85.80 Size 76

Date 1269 6 R

$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee

As No 58 Struck from a
rupee-size die

C J B

Year (a) 1271 9 R (85 64)

C J B

No 60

Wt 42.82 Size 6

Date 1269, X R (probably

(b)

$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee

As No 58 Struck from a
rupee size die

C J B

Years (a) 127— X R (41 74)

C J B

No 61

Wt 21 06 Size 5
Date 1269, 6 R
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee

As No 58 Struck from a die,
the same size as the coin
and well executed

No 62

Wt 10 64 Size 4
Date 1270, 8 R
 $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee

C J B
As No 58 Struck from a die,
the same size as the coin
and finely executed

C J B

Year (a) 1272 9 R (10 55)

C J B

Copper

No 63 Type A

Wt 182 17 Size 1 0
Date 1264 2 (1) R

Same inscription as No 48, but
most of inscription wanting

C J B

Years (a) 1264, 2 R (182 09)

C J B

(b) 1267, 4 R (185 5)

B M

No 64 Type B

Wt 451 54 Size 1 08
Date 1270 \ R

As No 50, with elongated
scroll

C J B

Note—This coin shows an attempt to imitate the large double dams of Akbar or perhaps the large copper coins of Bhopal it is I believe unique

No 65

Wt 181 85 Size 95
Date 1267, 0 R

As No 50 this coin is struck
from a rupee die See note
on Nasiru-d-din, No 32.

C J B

No 66

Wt 185 5 Size 88
Date 1270 8 R

As No 50, only in copper, well
executed almost all the in-
scription appears

C J B

No 67

Wt 91 2 Size 7
Date 1271 8 R.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ Falus

As No 50

B.M.

No 68.

Wt 47 09 Size 61
Date 1270, 7 R
 $\frac{1}{4}$ Falus

As No 50 Struck from a die
the same size as the coin and
well executed

C J B

Years (a) 1270 8 R (46)

B M.

[N S]

No 69

Wt 178 Size 72

Date XXXX, XR

Other weights are 180 7 and
174 53

There are a number of thick
coins of either type A or
B, but it is impossible to
make anything of what little
remains of the inscription,
no dates are visible and the
lettering is of the crudest

C J B

—◆—

APPENDIX

MEDAL STRUCK BY SHUJA U D DAULA

(Cp Marsden, pl lvi, mcccxxx)



R

SHUJA U D DAULA'S MEDAL

(COINS OF AWADH—NS VIII art 112)

Wt 588 5 Size 175

Obverse

نوب

شجاع الد ویر اعظم هند

ناردهم صفر روز شده سنه ۱۱۸۸

د الهی خیره

روهنله مارا رده و حافظ رحمت حال

سردار روهنله کشده شده

Nawab Shuja u-d (daula),
Prime minister of Hind, on
Sunday 11th Sfar 1188,
at Ilah Khēra punished the
Rohillas, and Hafiz Rahmat
Khan the leader of the
Rohillas, was killed

Reverse

A double-bladed sword up
right a single bladed sword
crossing it at the hilt

In a circular line —

إله فخرنا مدنا
نعمون بهدا مكان الهند

"We gave them a success,
a complete success" | The
dwellers in Hind will be glad
of this

Note —In Marsden's engraving the Nawab's name is given in full شعاع الدوله, it certainly does not appear so on the coin (in the Lucknow Museum) which is reproduced here but the ر in ربر, looks something like 'lam hē' when the butterfly 'hē' is not written so whoever drew the coin for Marsden may have reproduced له by a gloss. It is also conceivable that the omission of له, on the coin, which is certainly strange, was due to a gloss on the part of the engraver.

The name *Ilahi Khēra* presents a difficulty. The battle in which the Company's general General Champion in alliance with Shuja ud daula totally defeated the Rohillas under Hafiz Rahmat is usually known as the battle of Katra, from the small town Miranpūr Katra on the Shahjahanpūr Bareilly road, near which it took place. In the 'Tarikh Farahbakhsh' of Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh the engagement is called *Ilahi Katra*. The adjoining southern parganah to Miranpur Katra in the present district of Shahjahanpur is called *Khēra Bhaghēra* this may account for the name on the medal. The full account of the battle given in Sadat Yar Khan's *Gul-i-Rahmat* does not mention either *Khēra* or *Katra* (Elliot's 'Historian's Gul-i-Rahmat,' Vol VIII, pp 311 312).

ABBREVIATIONS

- B M = British Museum
I M C = Indian Museum Catalogue (Rogers)
L M = Lucknow Museum
W K. Cat = Catalogue of the White King collection (Schulman)
C J B = My own collection

Lucknow, April 1912

C J BROWN



AR
1



AR
6



AR
10 a



AR
13



AR
8



AR
9



AR
12



AR
16 b



AR
18 a



AR
20 a



AR
25 d



AR
19



AR
25 a





22



21



23



31a



32



33a



34b



41



42



43a



44



45



46a



47





Æ
47a



A/
51



A/
52



A/
49



A/
52a



A/
50



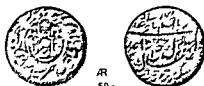
AR
53b



AR
57



AR
54



AR
59a



AR
60



Æ
64



AR
62a



Æ
68



Æ
63a



Æ
66



43. NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XIX.

Note.—The numeration of the article below is continued from p. 274 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1912

113. ANŪPNAGAR-SHĀHĀBĀD—A NEW MUGHAL MINT.



Early this year a rupee of Shāh 'Ālam II, of which the following is a description, was brought to me in Lucknow.—

Mint—Anūpnagar-Shāhābād.

Date.—A.H. 1189.—R.Y. 16.

Weight—Normal

Size.—1.125 inches.

Obverse

الہ محمد شاہ عالم باد
شاہ
فصل حامی دس ۱۱۸۹
سایہ
سکہ رد بر هفت کشور

Reverse—Small flower with two leaves below لم in first line.

صابوس
میمن
سنہ ۱۶ خلوس
صرب
ادوب فگر شاہ اناد
Trisūl in م of خلوس.

The coin was found among a large number of Etāwah rupees of Shah 'Ālam II, and this, together with its appearance, denotes that it probably issued from a mint at no great distance from that town.

I have been unable to find any definite trace of a town known as Anūpnagar Shahābad and the identity of the mint town is I fear up to the present a matter of conjecture. It seems possible, as suggested by my friend Dr G P Taylor, that Anūpshahr in the District of Bulandshahr in the United Provinces not very far from Dehli may be the origin of my coin. This town was founded by Raja Anūp Rai Bargūjar in the reign of Jahangir and was named by him Anūpnagar. The Tahsildar of Anūpshahr informs me that this is the name entered in existing *sanads* dating from the time of the Mughal Emperors. We find it called by that name in the *Farhat ul Nazirīn*, *vide* Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* Vol VIII, p 170.

"When Jhanku sustained a defeat from the army of the Abdālī and fled away with Ghazī-ud-dīn Khān, the Abdālī sacked Dehli and encamped at Anūpnagar."

That this place was Anūpshahr is shown by another account of the same events in the *Tarikh-i-Manazil-i-futūh*—Elliot and Dowson, Vol VIII, p 147. The latter passage relates that Ahmad Shāh laid the foundation of a cantonment at Anupshahr. The area thus occupied is still, I am told, known as "Cantonment."

In 1759 he again pitched his camp here, and organized the famous coalition of the Musalmāns of Upper India against the Jats and Mahrattas, which led to the battle of Panipat in 1761 (*District Gazetteer Bulandshahr*, p 183).

It is perhaps permissible to carry conjecture a little further and connect the title "Shahābad" with this occupation.

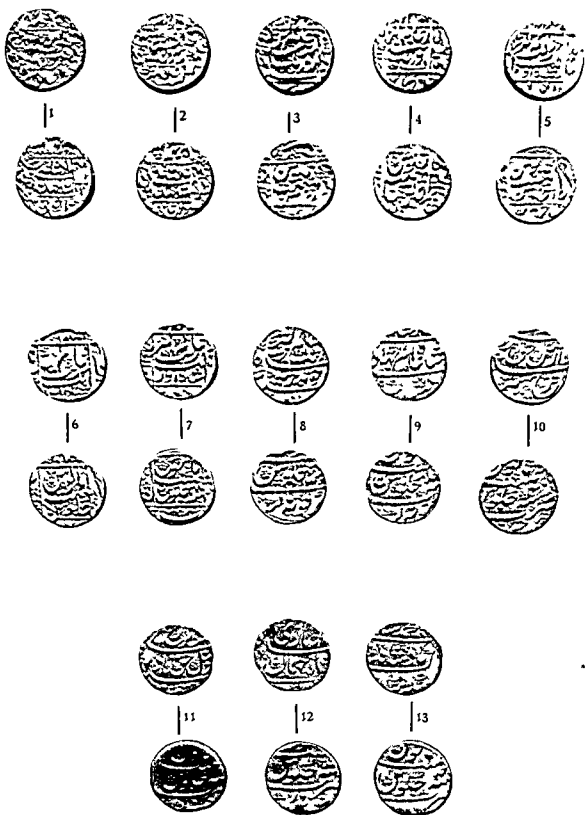
We hear of Anupshahr again being used as a halting place for troops in 1773, i.e. 1187-8 A.H.—only a year or two before the date of the coin now described—when "the combined forces of the Oudh Nawab Wazīr and the British made Anupshahr their rendezvous." *District Gazetteer, Bulandshahr*, p 183. It is still a town of some local importance and is the head-quarters of a Tahsil.

H NELSON WRIGHT

September, 1912

114 THE MUGHAL COINS OF JENAGADH. (With Plate XXVI)

The peninsula of Kathiāwad situated between the gulfs of Kachh and Cambay, was early known as Saurashtra, or 'the Goodly Land' but in process of time both the name and its



MUGHAL COINS OF JÜNAGADH. N.S.XIX. ART.114.

THE COINS IN THE ABOVE PLATE ARE SHEWN SLIGHTLY REDUCED IN SIZE,
THE SIZE OF THE COINS IS THAT OF THE NORMAL MUGHAL RUPEE

application have undergone a change, so that the Sorath of to-day is the district in the south and south west of the peninsula. Midst all change, however, it has remained the Goodly Land. Here is a glowing eulogy of the province that Sikandar bin Muhammad, writing in 1611, has recorded in his History —

"And what a country is Sorath! As if the hand of
"heaven had selected the cream and essence of
"Malwah, Khândish, and Gujarat, and had made
"a compendium of all the good people of the world,
"and had picked out the noblest and most vigorous
"of men from the three countries named, and
"collected them together unto one standard, as a
"touchstone of the countries of the world
"God be praised! Such is Sorath even at the
"present day!"

Jūnagadh the chief city of the province, lies in a picturesque valley at the foot of the Girnar and Dattar Hills. The origin of the city is shrouded in a remote antiquity. Already in ancient times it bore the names of Puritana pura and Pūrva nagara. Its more modern names were Jirna-durga and Jirna-gadha, of which the latter would seem to be the original of its present name Jūnagadh. Thus from time immemorial it has been continuously known as 'the Ancient City' or 'the Old Fort'.

The *Mir'at-i Sikandari* has preserved for us the story how the city came by this name. Long long ago, so the people of Sorath say, for the full five kos between Jūnagadh and the former capital, Vanthali (Vamana-sthal), extended a dense dark jungle into which "neither horse nor man could penetrate." But one day a venturesome wood cutter forced a passage through, and lo! on the further side high walls of stone and a massive gate confronted him. Entering within, he saw a *yogi*, wrapped in contemplation, at whose feet he prostrated himself, and begged to be told the name of the city and its builders. 'Juna' was the only word vouchsafed in reply. The hardy peasant soon thereafter returned in safety to his home, and the Raja, hearing of the strange adventure, forthwith had the whole jungle cleared away. The mysterious fort now stood exposed to vulgar gaze, yet none could tell how or when it had come into existence and so no better name could be devised for it than just the *yogi's* Junagadh.

Tradition says that after the fall of Valabhi pura, about A.D. 770, the then Viceroy at Vanthali assumed independence, and thereafter, till near the close of the fifteenth century, the Chūdasamas were rulers of Junagadh. Time and again the

¹ Sir E. C. Bayley's translation of the *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, pp. 180

city has been besieged. In 1350 Muhammad (III) ibn Fughlaq plundered the place, and took away as prisoner the Rao Khengar. Then in 1414 the Gujarat Sultān, Ahmad Shah, following the example set him twenty years earlier by his grandfather, Zafar Khan invaded Sorath and invested the Uparkot, or citadel, of Jūnagadh. 'The light of Islam did not shine fully over the country on this occasion, still the power of the infidels was broken, and they were changed from the quality of *harbis* (i.e. enemies) to the condition of *zimmis* (i.e. tributaries or subjects)'.¹

It was however Mahmūd Begadī (Mahmūd of the two forts)—Jūnagadh and Chāmpunir who finally annexed the province to the Sultānat of Gujarat. On three several occasions he led his armies against the infidels of Gīrnār and ultimately in 1472 Rao Mandalik V not only surrendered his kingdom but accepted the bitter condition imposed upon him of conversion to Islām. Thereafter known as Khan Jahan, he resided in Ahmadābād, where his grave enclosed by a shabby wooden railing, can be seen to-day on the ground floor of a tiny shop in the Manek Chok. Mahmūd, elated by his victory, changed the name of Jūnagadh to Mustāfa ābad, and at his express desire several of his nobles built themselves residences there.

Probably now for the first time in its history a mint was opened in this city. Silver and copper coins bearing the mint name Shahr a zam Mustāfa ābad were struck between the years 879 and 892 Hijrī possibly also in 894, 905 and 906. These have been described in an article on 'the Coins of the Gujarat Sultānat' in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. xxi No. lvi).

Right on to the close of the Ahmad Shahī Dynasty Jūnagadh remained tributary to the Sultāns of Ahmadābād though the allegiance was often little more than nominal. By the time that Akbar effected his first conquest of Gujarat in 152-73 Tatar Khan Ghori had established himself as virtually the independent ruler of Jūnagadh and it was not till some twenty years later that the city was besieged and captured by the Imperial troops. The province being thereupon annexed to the Empire passed under the immediate authority of the Mughal Viceroy of Gujarat while its direct administration was deputed to Faujdars resident at Junagadh. This system continued in force till 1738 when in consequence of the waning power of the Mughal Emperors a soldier of fortune of Afghan descent named Sher Khan Babi the last of the Faujdars quietly—or as the *Tārīkh-i Sorath* puts it 'without any further ado'—disclaimed allegiance to Dehli and assumed the

title of Nawab Bahadur Khan. He was the founder of the still reigning dynasty, and from him the present chief, a minor, stands ninth in succession.

The currency prior to the sway of the Chūdisama Kings consisted doubtless of the coins of the Western Ksatrapas and, to some extent, of the Guptas. During the period of Chūdisamā rule, say A.D. 800—1172 the Gadhavyas, in silver and copper, must have been in common use, but for the latter part of that period these would be superseded by coins of the Sultans of Dehli and of Ahmadabad. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century the mint of Mustafā-abād itself supplied the currency and for the next hundred years the coins generally of the Gujarat Sultanat will have been in vogue. At the annexation of the province to the Dehli Empire in 1592 coins in large number were in circulation from the new mints of Kachh and Navanagar and, perhaps, of Porbandar. Accordingly it was not till well into the reign of Shāh Jahan I that any need was felt for opening—or rather re-opening—a mint in Jūnagarh itself. Thenceforward coins issued from this mint certainly till the year of Muhammad Shāh's accession A.D. 1719, but none are known of the later Mughal Emperors.

Of the Mughal coins that issued from the Jūnagarh mint the specimens now to be described number, exclusive of duplicates, sixty-two. Eleven of these are in the Indian Museum, five in the British Museum, five in the Lahore Museum, and the remaining forty-one in my cabinet. They range over the eighty-two years from 1041 to 1131 H. and include coins of the six Emperors Shāh Jahan I, Aurangzeb, Shāh 'Ālam I, Farrukh siyar, Shāh Jahan II, and Muhammad Shāh.

Not a single specimen in copper is known, and in gold only one No. 1154 of Vol. III of the Indian Museum Catalogue. Regarding this muhr Mr. Nelson Wright gives the foot-note, 'Probably a coin of Jūnagarh of No. 1367'. This assignment, however, may be accepted with absolute confidence and by consequence the query mark entered in the mint-column were better omitted.

According to Mr. Stanley Lane Poole the fabric of all the examples of this mint is "extremely rude" and this coarseness he connects with 'the remote situation of Jūnagarh'.¹ The true reason, I fancy, is simply that the British Museum had been unfortunate in the specimens obtained from this particular mint. Certainly those in my collection are as to fabric well up to the average while some are of distinctly excellent workmanship.

¹ Similarly the queried m. l. r. No. 1154(b) is almost certainly to be assigned to the Kashmir mint.

² The coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum pp. lv-lvi.

It is not I think commonly known that on these coins three variant forms of the mint-name are recorded —

- (a) We find the name written as *حوندگر* Junagar (or Junagad) throughout the reign of Shah Jahan I also from 1039 H onwards
- (b) then as *حوندگده* Junagadh from 1040 to 1042 also from 1077 1036
- (c) and lastly as *حوندگر گده* Junagar gadh (or Junagadh) in 5-1074 and 6-1074

In Gujarati the name is nowadays generally spelt *જુનાગઢ*, Junagadh but what precisely is the origin of the word Gadh a fort I have not yet been able to discover The Sanskrit *गृह* a hole a cave and *गद* a fence a moat would each of them give us Gadh but neither serves to account for the aspirated (mahaprasa) dh So possibly the form Gadh is philologically as correct as the more common form Gadh and indeed in the Kathiawar volume of the Bombay Gazetteer (vol vii) the name both of the city and of the state is invariably spelt Junagad It is thus not surprising that on the coins the name occurs sometimes as *حوندگر* and sometimes as *حوندگده* The third and longest form *حوندگر گده* means of course just Junagar Fort

It is further noteworthy that the first element Juna of the compound name s on the coins always written *حوند* with final *le* not *alf* On the other hand the Hindustani word for old is *حوا* with final *alf* Accordingly it may be that *حوندگده* means not the Old Fort but the Fort of Juna and Juna as Mr Lane-Poole reminds us was the birth name of Muhammad ibn Tughlaq the Sultan who in 1350 successfully invested Junagadh Ibn Batuta writes of him

He was called *Jauna* the sun when he became king he called himself Muhammad Shah ³ That the city derives its name from the name of its erstwhile conqueror is an attractive conjecture but as we have already seen long before that conqueror's invasion the city had been known as the Old

¹ Colloquially indeed the name Junagadh is often shortened to Gadh Compare Nagar for Almadnagar or Derry for Londonderry

² Is it the case that on the coins of Alarnagar Awadh the second member of this name is in like manner variously written *و* and *وگده*?

See B.M.C. No 980 Or is the final *le* simply wanting on this specimen Of the names rupees from this mint may collect on two show the fairly clearly

³ Dowson s.l. ot u 606 611

Fort,' and thus, doubtless, is the real signification of Jūnagadh. The passage was easy from حونا گڈ to حونا گڈ and *vice versâ*. Indeed on one occasion Aurangzēb issued an imperial mandate that in place-names a final 'ho' should be supplanted by an 'alif'!

We now proceed to a detailed description of the Mughal coins struck at the mint of Jūnagadh

I Shāh Jahan I A H 1037-1069, A D 1628-1659

Silver No 1 (Fig 1) 13-1040, 14-1050

Obverse — Area square with looped corners

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

محمد

رسول الله

Margin lower بصدى ابى بكر

left و عدل عمر

upper فارم عمار

„ right و علم على

Hijri year in left margin

Reverse — Area square with looped corners

شاه جهان

سنة ١٠٤٠

Margin upper شهاب الدين

„ right محمد صاحب

Margin lower فران نانى

„ left صوب حونه گڑ

Regnal year in right margin

Silver No 2 (Fig 2) 1050, 1052, 1054 1057, 1059
1060, 1062, 1063, 1064 (L M C), 1066 1067, 1069

Also an undated half rupee (C E Kotwal)

Obverse — As on No 1

Reverse — As on No 1

but Regnal year is not recorded

II Aurangzēb A H 1068-1118 A D 1658-1707

Gold x-xxxx (I M C No 1154)

Obverse.—Area square

عائمه گمر

رب

و رنگ

سداد

Margin right

سده رب

lower

رحهار

left

upper

} wanting

Hijri year wanting

Peterse — Area square

عائمه

عائمه

حلص

Margin upper

مر

right

lower

left

} wanting

Regnal year wanting

Though this muhr in the India Museum bears neither mint-name nor any date, a comparison with the rupee of No. 2 type will show that the muhr may with confidence be assigned to the *حوت گمر* mint and to the period between the fifth and the eighth Regnal years. See also L.M.C. iii page 136 note 1¹

Silver No. 1 (Fig. 3) Rupees 3—1070 (L.M.C.),
3—1071 4—10, 2.

Half rupee 4—xxx

Obverse.—Area square with looped corners

عائمه گمر

رب

لورنگ

شده

¹ In finishing this article I have received Numismatic Supplement No. xvi in which Mr. Allen makes mention of a Junagadh muhr dated x—107. As he states that its legend calls for no remark, it is I presume identical with that on the Junagadh rupee of the same year—type No. 3—save only that *مر* will have been substituted for *رب*.

Margin lower .	سکہ رد
„ left	در جہاں
upper	چو در
„ right	مدیر سنہ

Hijri year in right margin over سنہ

Reverse —Area square with looped corners

مانوس

صمدت

حلوس

Margin upper	صرب
„ right	حولہ
„ lower	گذہ
„ left	سنہ

Regnal year in left margin over سنہ

Silver No 2 (Fig 4) Rupees 5—1074, 6—1074 (B M C),
8—xxxx (L M C)
Half rupee x—1074

Obverse —Area square with looped corners

ر عالم گیر

— — —

اورنگ

شاہ

Margin right	سکہ رد
„ lower	در جہاں
„ left	چو در مدیر
„ upper	سنہ

Hijri year in upper margin over سنہ

Reverse —Area square with looped corners

مانوس

صمدت

حلوس

Margin, upper	صرب
right	حوند گڑ
lower	گد
left	سند

Regnal year in left margin over سند

Of the rupee 8—xxvx in the Lahor Museum the margins are illegible

Silver No 3 (*Fig 5*) Rupees 9—1077, 10—1079 12—1080 (L M C), x—? 1080 (I M C), 14—1082 15—1082 (I M C), x—1084, x—1085 (B M C) 1086—1087 (*sic*), 26—1093, 27—xxxx (I M C)

Half rupee x—1077

Obverse —Area square with looped corners

عالم گڑ

ر—ب

ب—گ

شاه ور

Margin right سکد رد

, lower در حہاں

left چو بندر صدر

upper سند

Hijri year in upper margin over سند

Reverse —Area square with looped corners

ماہوس

صمصب

حلوس

Margin right صرب

lower حوند

left گد

, upper سند

Regnal year in upper margin over سند

Note 1 —The rupee dated on the obverse 1087 has on the reverse instead of the regnal year the date 1086 (*fig 6*)

Note 2.—The rupee dated x—1090 in the British Museum has

Obverse margins, | . . . | . . حوہ کد صرب |

and Rev. margins, ۱۰۹۰ سنہ | چونددر | درحہاں | سکہ رد |

Silver No. 40 (Fig. 7): 28—1096

Obverse.—Area and legend as in No. 3.

Margin right سکہ

„ lower رد در

„ left چہاں چو

upper بدر مندر

Hijri year ۱۰۹۶ in area over پ of رہپ

Reverse — Area square with looped corners

محلوس

منہلت

سنہ محلوس

Margin lower صرب

„ left حوہ

„ upper right } wanting

Regnal year ۲۸ in area over سنہ

Silver No. 5 31 ?—1097 (I M C)

Obverse.—Area and legend as in No. 3

Margin lower سکہ رد

„ left درحہاں

„ upper چونددر

„ right (sic) ۷۹۰۱ سنہ مندر

Reverse.—Area and legend as in No. 3

Margin right حوہ

„ lower گدہ

„ left سنہ ۳۱ ?

„ upper wanting.

Silver No 6 (Fig 8) 31-1099 (I M C), 31-~~xxxx~~
(L M C) 33-1101 (I M C) 3x-1101, 34-1102 (I M C),
35-1104 (L M C) 41-1109 4x-1109 (B M C), 42-1110,
4x-1111 47-1114 50-1117 5x-1119

Obverse—

عالم گدو

اورنگ رعب

31-11-11

۱۰ چو بدر صاع

2. _____

دو جہاں

Hijri year over the گ of رب اورنگ

Reverse — Rim two linear circles with dots between.

مانوس

مذہب

مسئله حلوم

مؤید

حلولہ گو

Regnal year over 22-00

The four rupees of this type in the Indian Museum are entered in the Catalogue as having the mint name written as **حوتہ گره**. See I.M.C. Nos 1373—1376

III Shah Alam I Bahadur A.H. 1119—1124 A.D. 1707—1712

Silver (Fig 9) 2—1120

Obverse—

دادستان عام

سازد عالم بهادر

معدنی

Hydr year to left of ک of ک

Reverse—

معاذ

المجلة

سیدہ خاتون

۷۴

حضورت کو

Regnal year over 40-

IV Farrukh siyar A H 1124—1131, A D 1711—1719
Silver No 1 (Fig 10) 1—xxxx

Obverse—

ردار فصل حق و
سکه
د ج و

On comparing this rupee with No 1713 of the Indian Museum Catalogue I incline to reconstruct the legend on the Obverse as follows —

و ر
سکه
ردار فصل حق و
سکه
نعم و بر فرج صدر
سکه
با ۱۱۲۷

Reverse—

مانوس
صمصم
سکه حلوس
صوب
حوقه گر

Regnal year over سکه

Silver No 2 (Fig 11) 6—xx 29 7—xx3x, 8—xxxx

Obverse—

نعم و بر فرج صدر
سکه
فصل حق با
سکه
د بر صمصم و ر

Hijri year to left of ک of سکه

Reverse — As on No 1

V Shih Jah n II (Rafi aldaulat) A H 1131 A D 1719
Silver (Fig 12) احد—11xx

Obverse—

غازي

شاہ

شاہ جہاں داد

_____ک

سکہ مہار

Hijri year 11 to right of ہا of غازي.

Reverse—

مانوس

مہمات

سہ حلوس

صرب

حورہ گز

Regnal year احد over سہ.

This rupee may be, but probably is not, of the reign of Shāh Jahan III. It is of a type that one associates with the earlier rather than with the later half of the twelfth (Hijri) century. Compare the Multān (and Ajmēr) rupees of Shāh Jahan II.

VI. Muhammad Shāh A.H 1161—1161, A.D 1719—1748.

Silver. (Fig 13). احد—XXXX.

Obverse—

محمد شاہ

_____ک

داد شاہ عار

_____ک

سکہ مہار

Hijri year wanting, but a trace of the unit figure 1 seems to be present to the left of , of مہار on lowest line

Reverse—

مانوس

مہمات

سہ حلوس

صرب

حورہ گز

Regnal year احد over سہ.

During the last hundred years or so—it would seem from about A.D. 1825—Jūnagadh Native State coins have been issued both in silver and in copper. Of these Dr. Codrington has given a brief account in his interesting paper on “The Coinages of Cutch and Kathiawar.” Since the publication, however, of that paper in 1895, a new type of Jūnagadh (copper) coin has been struck, and accordingly this, and indeed other coins too of that State, still await detailed description. For instance Dr. Codrington makes mention of the Hāṣakavara Śrī Kori adding that he had not himself seen a specimen of this rare coin. Happily a more propitious fortune has attended my inquiries for, through the kind offices of Mr L. Robertson, I.C.S., Administrator of the State, the solitary specimen in the Jūnagadh Museum—none other is at present known anywhere—was recently sent me for inspection. Some day I hope to write a note on this coin—if current coin it ever was—and should like to report also on any other types of the State coins that may meanwhile come my way.

GEO. P. TAYLOR

Ahmadabad, 1912.

III. NOTE ON A NEW COIN OF AURANGZĀB



†

Mint—Shāhjahānabad

Daru l khilāfat

Date—1070 A.H. Regnal year—1

Wt 170

S 95

Obverse

In square

نادر شاه عاری

عالم گنر

Margins

Left	ابو الظفر
Top	معني الدين محمد
Right	لورنگ رتب
Bottom	بھادر سنہ ۱۰۷۰

Reverse

In square	جہاں شاہ دار الحکومت صوبہ
-----------	------------------------------------

Margins

Left	سنہ احد
Top	حلوس
Right	مہمند
Bottom	مانوس

This is I believe the first square area rupee recorded of the Shahjahanabad Mint. Coins from this mint of the early years of Aurangzeb appear to be rare the earliest date in the I M C is 1072 4. In the sale catalogue of the White King collection a coin of this mint (No 3847) is recorded of the year 1069 with the *چوندر صبر* couplet. I think this must be an error for 1079.

The other mints which issued square area type rupees are, Akbarabad, Juna_{adh} and Jahangirnagar while there is a square area type *muhar* of Akbarnagar (No 706) in the B M C.

C J BROWN

Lucknow 1912

45 NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XX

Note.—The numeration of the article below is continued from p 424 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1912

116 COINS OF SHĀH SHUJA', SON OF SHĀH JAHAN (With Plate XXVIII)

There are two rupees of Shah Shuja' the unsuccessful rebel son of Shah Jahan and claimant to the imperial throne in the British Museum. They are both of the 'square area' type extensively adopted by Shāh Jahān and as is so often and annoyingly the case the dies have been much larger than the discs, and the important marginal inscriptions are almost illegible. These coins are Nos 690 and 691 in the British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India and their mints have been tentatively read as Akbarābād and Jalānābād respectively. In NS VI Mr R Burn ICS showed that these mint readings were probably incorrect—see also Mr W Irvine's paper in NS XII—but he did not make any suggestion as to the mint or the mints of the coins of Shāh Shuja'.

In addition to the two 'square area' type rupees in the British Museum, there is a rupee of a different type in the Lucknow Museum, which was described by Mr Burn in the note already referred to. Just recently Dr G P Taylor of Ahmadabad found another specimen resembling that at Lucknow, and four years ago I got a 'square area' type rupee like B M No 690, in the Delhi Bazar. These five specimens are all that are known of Shāh Shuja's exceedingly rare currency.

The two British Museum coins are different varieties of the same type. Comparing them with my own specimen, also of this 'square area' type, I find that the reverse inscriptions (treating the Kalima side as the obverse) are —

TYPE A SQUARE AREAS. VARIETY (I) (B M No 690)

In square area —

شاه شجاع

ساح محمدی

شاه

Margins —	Top	الدی محمد
	Right	صاحب مولا نانی
	Bottom	۱
	Left	cut.

In type B (see below) Shah Shuja is called the second Alexander so possibly the inscription in the bottom margin is محمد ثانی. If this is the case the left margin should contain the name of the mint and also the first part of the *lagab* or title Shah Shuja adopted when he assumed regal honours as was the custom. I do not know what this was, and if history is altogether silent on the point its elucidation will have to await the discovery of more coin.

TYPE A SQUARE AREAS VARIETY (II) (B.M. No 691)

In square area — محمد شاه سعاد احد

—————

بادشاہ

Margins —	Top	الدی [محمد ۲]
	Right	صاحب مولا نانی
	Bottom	محمد رانی ۶
	Left	cut

TYPE B LUCKNOW MUSEUM SPECIMEN

Obverse.

Reverse.

Kalima in square marginal inscriptions —

پا رعای

Top صدی می سو

—————

Rest cut.

احد

محمد شاه سعاد

—————
محمد ناصر اکبر

This reading differs from that of Mr Burn but I think there can be little doubt that the latter half of the last line contains the word *میر* and the first part of the mint name. The word *اکبر* at once suggests itself so our search has narrowed down to the name of a town beginning with the word Akbar. There are three well known mints answering this requirement — Akbarābad Akbarpur and Akbarnagar.

[N S]

Dr Taylor's specimen is identical with that in the Lucknow Museum, but the bottom line of the reverse side is missing. Instead there is an additional top line containing the word محمد alone, with the usual transverse stroke below it. The obverse contains the Kalima in a square frame, with the date 1068 in the left-hand bottom corner. The right-hand and bottom marginal inscriptions are *عدل عمر* and *نارم عثمان* respectively. The other margins are cut.

On the report of Shah Jahan's serious illness, Shah Shuja' who was at the time governor of the province of Bengal, was the first of the emperor's sons to rise. We know that he gave out that Shah Jahan was already dead, so it is only reasonable to suppose that he had himself proclaimed king, his name inserted in the Friday prayers, and coin struck at the principal place or places of his governorship, before starting on his perilous expedition to Delhi. He chose the route past the city of Agra (Akbarabad) but it is certain that he never reached this place because Agra was occupied in force by Shah Jahan himself, and it was from Agra that the army of Sulaim Shikoh, eldest son of prince Dara, advanced against Shah Shuja'. He was defeated, and forced to return to Bengal. So our mint must be either Akbarnagar or Akbarpūr, and the probabilities are all in favour of Akbarnagar. It was in Rajmahal (Akbarnagar) that Shah Shuja' held his principal Court—*Stories of Mogor*, Vol I, p 228—and Akbarnagar was the recognized capital of that part of Bengal, and a well known mint town of the Mughal Emperors. Manucci in connection with Shah Shuja' also remarks that Rajmahal was that prince's principal residence—*Ibid*, p 334.

The suggested full reading of the Lucknow Museum type is therefore as follows —

*Obverse**Reverse*

Kalima in square, date 1068
in left-hand bottom corner
Marginal inscriptions —

Right *عدل عمر*

نادر عاری

Bottom *نارم عثمان*

شاه

Left *علم علی*

احد

Top *نصرت الی ذکر*

محمد شاه شجاع

نادر

سکندر نام صرب اکبرنگر

117 A NEW TYPE OF SILVER DĪRHAM OF THE SASSANIAN
MONARCH ZĀMĀSP (JĀMĀSP)

(With Plate XXVIII.)

History says that when Kobād, the father of the celebrated Nauriwan the just (*Khusrau I*), was dethroned, and committed to safe custody in the "Castle of Oblivion," in A.D. 497, by the chief mobed (high priest of the Zoroastrian Religion), with the joint consent of other mobeds, and principal nobles, on account of his becoming a pro-elyta to one Mazdah, an impostor, his brother Zamašp was proclaimed as king with all the usual formalities.

Zamašp was noted for his love of justice, and for the mildness of his disposition.

Kobad, the ex-king, in a short time effected his escape from the "Castle of Oblivion." He then took refuge at the court of the great Khan of the Ephthalites or white Huns, and by his aid with an army of 30,000 men invaded Persia, and offered battle to his generous and mild brother Zamašp, who declined the conflict, as he did not greatly desire a throne. Zamašp submitted to Kobād, and, vacating the throne in his favour, retired into private life. This happened in the year 499 A.D. Zamašp reigned from 497 to 499 A.D.

His coins of the double portrait have already been published (*Vide Dorn, Pl. XVIII, figs 1 to 15*). They bear the regnal years from 1 to 3, and different mints.

The coin I have now the pleasure to describe is not a double portrait coin, but with a single portrait.

Figure 1

• Description —

Metal—Silver

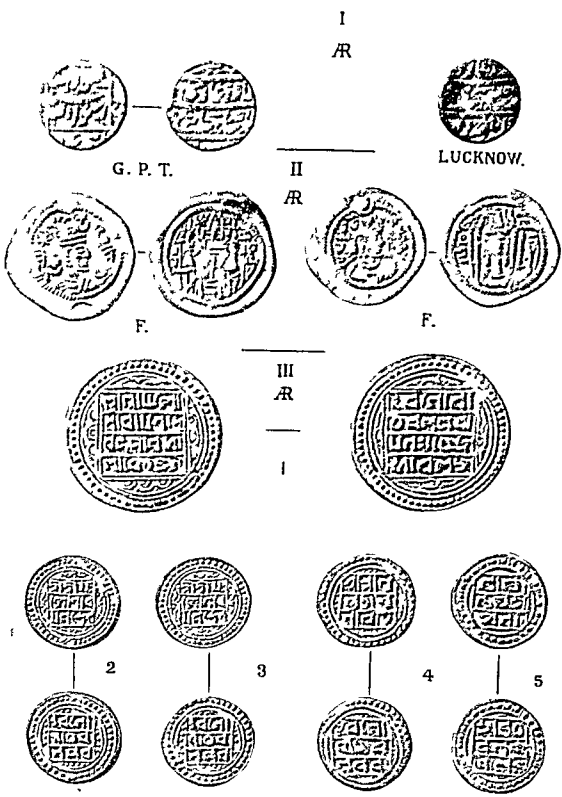
Mint سمر = MR (Merv).Date—Regnal year 3 سز = 3

Weight—61 grains

Diameter—1.25 inch

Obverse — Bust of king to right within a dotted circle, with a crenelated crown similar in design to that of his brother Kobad (during his 2nd reign), but devoid of wings, a crescent with a star in its bosom in front of the crown. Two crescents also appearing—one on each shoulder—just above, a little distant from the centre of the crown, a crescent bearing a globe. The king wears a triple drop earring and a necklace. Outside the circle at the right, at the left, and at the bottom, a crescent.

Legend — To right in front of face (reading from outside) in Pahlavi characters 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬌 = (a) sp = 𐬀𐬎𐬌 (1)



I Coins of Shah Shuja^c — Art: 116. N. S. XX.
II Sassanian Dirhams — Art: 117, "
III. Kachari Coins — Art: 120, "

Reverse — Within a dotted circle in *Atishdan*¹ (fire receptacle) with flames ascending, in a conical form. Two mobads—one on either side of the *Atishdan*—guarding the sacred fire each with a sword and a lance in his hands. No crescents appear outside the circle.

Legend — To left (reading from inside) in Pahlavi characters 𐬰𐬀𐬎 = Trin = 3rd regnal year

To right (reading from outside) in Pahlavi characters 𐬨𐬀𐬎 = Mar = (Merv)

The reverse of this coin has a close resemblance to the reverse of coins of *Khusrau I* issued in the first four years of his reign as well as in the first portion of the 5th regnal year. From the latter portion of the 5th regnal year right on till the 47th regnal year the reverse of his coins follows the devices of those of his father *Kobad*.

This *Dirham* was a great puzzle to me for a long time, as it bears only the last two letters of the name of *Zamasp* 𐬵𐬀 = (a) sp

Inasmuch as the coins already known of *Zamasp* bear on their obverse the legend “ 𐬵𐬀𐬎 ” = *Zam* consisting of the first three letters of his name this peculiarity of writing convinced me that *Zamasp* must have adhered to the principle of not having his name written in full on his coins being content that only a portion of his name should appear.

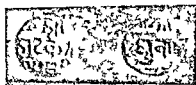
For comparison with the *Dirhams* already known of *Zamasp* I give an illustration of a *Dirham* in my cabinet (fig. 2) bearing the regnal year 𐬰𐬀𐬎 = Trin—3 and the Mint 𐬨𐬀𐬎 = Baba

The coin figured as No 1 is also in my possession

Bombay

FRANJEE JAMASJEE THANAWALLA

118 ON THE HATAKESVARA SAI KORI



Recently it was my good fortune to receive from *Jūnagadh* for inspection the only specimen at present known of the coin

¹ Commonly called by European writers a Fire Altar

called the Hatakeśvara Sai Kori. Dr. Codrington in his informing article on 'The Coinages of Cutch and Kathiawar,' an article communicated to the 'Numismatic Chronicle' so long ago as 1895 devoted a dozen lines to a description of this type of coin, but his brief account closes with the frank admission 'I have not seen a specimen.' Accordingly in a letter to Mr. Laurence Robertson I.C.S. Administrator of the Junagadh State I made enquiry regarding this coin and not long thereafter he was so good as to send me the solitary specimen in the Junagadh Museum. A search for others had proved unsuccessful. It is thus an especial pleasure to be able now to supply a photograph kindly prepared by Mr. Henry Cousens M.R.A.S. from a cast of this coin. It is noteworthy that the simple legends both of the Obverse and of the Reverse are written throughout in the Devanagari character. They read as follows —

Obv	श्री	Rev	श्री
	हटिकेश्वर		रघुनाथ
	रायनम		औनम

Obv. Sri Hatak [e] śvaraya namah Salutation to the Blessed Hatakeśvara.

Rev. Sri Raghunathaji namah Salutation to the Blessed Raghunathaji.

The weight of the coin is 64 grains and its diameter measures .55 of an inch.

My friend Mr. Framji J. Thanawala informs me that the curved lines seen before the श्री both on the Obverse and on the Reverse resemble one of the conventional forms of the sacrosanct symbol OM.

Hatakeśvara or the 'Lord Resplendent' is one of the epithets applied to Śiva who also bears the name of Suvarṇa the god of brilliant hue. Both hatakam and suvarṇam are Sanskrit terms for gold the 'shining' metal, and it was under the symbol of a golden linga that Śiva was worshipped in the ancient temple of Hatakeśvara Mahadeva just outside the town of Vadnagar some fifty-two miles north east of Ahmadabad. One of the traditions current regarding the origin of this temple tells that when Śiva was about to be married to the beautiful Pīrvatī the 'mountain maid,' her mother besought him to assume a comely form lest the bride should be terror-struck on beholding his ungainly appearance. In a clumsy attempt to comply with this request Śiva dropped from his forehead six grains of rice from which forthwith sprang up six Brahmins. All these 'made' Brahmins in process of time married Naga wives and settling with them at Vadnagar there built a

[V S]

temple, wherein they installed, under the name of Hatakevara the golden phallus entrusted to them of old by Siva himself. This temple is still held in great reverence by the Nagar Brahmins but owing so the story runs to Siva's wrath that the town walls when being built had not been extended so as to include the temple area the Nagars began to desert Vadnagar. Since that time so complete has been the exodus that in 1853 there was in the whole town but one house in which Nagar Brahmins were to be found two solitary individuals without a family. But whithersoever the Nagars may have migrated, they have not ceased to regard as their tutelary deity the Hatakeśvara of Vadnagar and in many of the places of their adoption they have erected temples for the worship of this Hatakeśvara Mahadeva. Ahmadabad has at least one such temple so also has Gogha and the Tarikh-i-Sorath makes definite mention of others erected at Mangrol and Navanagar and Junagadh. Then too beyond the limits of Gujarat, it is as Hatakeśvara that Siva receives divine honours on the banks of the Godavari and as Hatakeśvara that he holds sway over Vitala the second according to the Padma Purana of the seven lower regions.

And now what of the Raghunathaji to whom on the reverse of this coin reverence is accorded? Raghunatha is it is true one of the many names of Rama the seventh incarnation of Visnu but assuredly this cannot be the application of the name in the present instance for it is well nigh incredible that one and the same coin should bear invocations both to Visnu and to Siva. The day of such amity between Vaisnava and Saiva has not yet dawned.

Doubtless then the popular tradition is correct in identifying this Raghunathaji with the Diwan of that name who a century ago was quite the most outstanding figure in the councils of the Junagadh State. The chief events of his life can readily be gleaned from the above-mentioned Tarikh-i-Sorath, a History of the Provinces of Sorath and Halar in Kathiawad written by his younger brother Ranchhodji younger by five years who in time himself became one of his successors in the office of Diwan of Junagadh.

Born on the 23rd of June 1763 Raghunathaji experienced during his chequered life of fifty six years his full share of the rough toss and tumble of those rude times. Of the Nagar (or more correctly Naga) caste he possessed in an eminent degree the qualities characteristic of that caste intelligence, a propensity for intrigue and above all a capacity for state-management. His father Amarji leaving the ancestral seat at Mangrol was at the early age of eighteen

appointed to high office in the court of Mahābat Khān I, the Nawab of Jūnagadh. In the hurly burly of the State politics, this same Amarji some eleven years later became the victim of a foul conspiracy fomented by a vegetable seller and the erstwhile Diwan was with his two brothers cast into the State prison. Five months later they were released on condition of their paying a nazrana of 40,000 Jamu koris, while Amarji's eldest son the Raghunathaji of our coin, then a boy of but ten years, was retained as a hostage. The child was now entrusted to the care of the Nawab's favourite wife, the Bibi Sardar Bakhta, who is said to have treated him like a mother. With another turn of the wheel of Fortune, Amarji, who had meanwhile retired to Jetpur, was invited back to Jūnagadh and there reinstated in his former office, the child hostage being at the same time restored to his father. At the expiry of another period of eleven years during which Hamid Khān had mounted the gadi, this ruler tempted by a base bribe of three lakhs offered him by Kumbhaji of Gondal, compassed the death of the too trusting Amarji. Under pressure however, brought to bear by the Gaekwar, the Nawab appointed Raghunathaji, 'the excellent son of the late Diwanji,' his chief minister. For a youth of just twenty one years this was a post of weighty responsibility: it was also one that entailed a never ending conflict with counter-claimants and intriguers. It were a tedious task and foreign to our present purpose, to narrate all the political vicissitudes that befell Raghunathaji in the thirty five years during which he proved himself a masterful administrator. Suffice it to say that driven from office no less than six times, he was as often restored. On one occasion the Nawab Sahib 'with his usual faithlessness' imprisoned him and other Nagars in return for their excellent service in conquering the country, their houses being plundered and their treasure confiscated. On his release two months later he and his two brothers Ranchhodji and Dalpatram, were expelled the State, but an invitation was at once extended to them by the Jam Sahib Jasaji of Navanagar. Raghunathaji however had already become the one man indispensable to Junagadh and before long the refugee was entreated to return. 'I was wrong I was wrong,' said the Nawab with his own gracious mouth, 'Forgive what has passed I give you the Diwanhip.' In 1811 Bahadur Khan II, on his accession to the throne, assured Paghunathaji that no man except himself, whose family had held the Diwanship for fifty years, could carry on the administration of the Government properly. The Diwan Sahib true to his salt, now accepted the office "in perpetuity for himself and his descendants." Three years later we find him on pilgrimage to Nasik Tryambak for the purpose of bathing in the Godavari Ganga, the river whose banks, as already stated, are held

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sacred to Hatakesvara, Raghunathji's *ista devatā*. On his return to Kathiawad, having completed the nuptials of his son, and performed the Mahārudra Yajña, he retired from the world, and engaged in the worship of his god, but, the record significantly adds, "Jam dar 'Om'r Mukh'asam's enmity towards him did not abate." The attractions of office, however, eventually proved irresistible, for on the Jam'dar's expulsion from Jūnagadh "with concealed face and bare feet," the Diwani was again conferred on Raghunathji. On this occasion Captain Ballantyne Political Agent of the Mahi Kantha, informed the Nawab that it was the order of the Sarkar Company Bahadur that he should permanently settle the office of Diwan in the family of the Diwan Salub Amari. This re-investment would seem to have taken place in 1816 or 1817, yet but a few months later the Nawab's favour was again alienated, whereupon Raghunathji finally retired into private life. Now at length the time had come when he could devote himself to religious contemplation and in the seclusion of his retreat recall to memory the varying vicissitudes of his eventful career. Thus, in marked contrast to the storms he had encountered ever since his boyhood days, his last two years were years of quiet and calm. Of his death the *Ṭarikh-i Sorath* records — 'In Samvat 1875 in Āso Sud 10th (29th September 1819) the Diwan Salub Raghunathji successor to the Diwan Amari departed to Kālāsa at the age of fifty six years. He was a worshipper of Śankara, literal brave, upright, veracious, skilled in business, & protector of the rāiyats. The world bewails his loss and at Banaras several Sannyasis subsist comfortably at his expense."

This little coin equally with the common silver coin of Junagadh bears the name of Kori but if by Kori we are to understand a coin struck for the State currency, then most assuredly is the term inapplicable to our silverling. This cannot indeed rightfully claim to be regarded a coin at all. As defined in the New English (Oxford) Dictionary, a coin is 'a piece of metal (gold, silver, copper, etc.) of definite weight and value, usually a circular disc made into money by being stamped with an officially authoritative device.' Now the ruling power at Junagadh was a Muhammadan, and the Nawab a Babi deriving from Afghanistan and it is thus incredible that he should have officially authorized for impression on the current coin of his State a legend explicitly honouring Śiva, the third member of the Hindu Triad. Also it would be strange indeed were he to sanction for his coinage the use of the Devanagari character alone without a single Persian letter. Then too on an Indian coin issued as currency in comparatively modern times we should expect to find engraven the ruler's name or the name of the mint-town, or the year of issue, be it Hijri or Samvat or the regnal year but the

Hatakesvara Śrī Kori supplies not one of these "elements". Hence we may confidently affirm that this little piece of silver was not stamped officially nor with any authorization by the Jūnagadh State. Why then was it issued? and when? and by whom? On these points no definite evidence is available, and one can only fall back on conjecture. The Devanāgarī character betokens a Hindu as the originator of the coin, and the salutation to Hatakesvara, a Hindu of the Nāgar caste. Then on the Reverse the salutation to Raghunathji suggests, to my thinking at least, that the masterful Diwan had already died though his memory was still held in loving reverence. And lastly, none but a man of considerable wealth and of assured position would have ventured to issue these silverlings so like in their make to the current koris. May we not then hold that Raghunathji's younger brother Ranchhodji, himself a Diwan of Junagadh, is responsible for this *quasi* coinage, and that it was struck, say, some six years subsequent to Raghunathji's decease, thus about A.D. 1825? To have launched it as a currency for the State would simply have resulted in arousing the Nawab's anger with consequent orders for the withdrawal of the coin from circulation. A far more probable a supposition is that these silver pieces with their pious invocation to Śiva were originally intended to serve as the *dakṣiṇā* or donation to the Brahmans who in such large numbers inflict themselves on the Native Courts. This conjecture moreover is quite on the lines of the still current local tradition attaching to these special "Koris".

One little piece of confirmatory evidence still remains. As is well known, a remarkable feature of the coinage both silver and copper, of the Jūnagadh State is the presence beneath the Persian legend of the word दीवान Diwan in Devanāgarī and the insertion of this word is universally attributed to the Diwan Ranchhodji. It is thus clear that he did concern himself with the details of the coinage. May not then his first essay in this direction have given us the Hatakeśvara ŚAI hori?

ALLAHABAD

GEO P TAYLOR

119 THE MUHAL COINS OF CAMBAY

(With Plates XXX—XXXI)

' Cambay is one of the old ports. According to the brahmans several thousand years have passed since its foundation.' So wrote the Emperor Jahangir in his 'Memoirs.' It is not our province here to tell the story of the



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[N.S.]

ancient city, dating back as it does far into the legendary period. Originally known as Stambha-tīrtha, 'pillar-shrine,' that is to say, the shrine for the worship of Śiva under the symbol of a pillar, the name modified by phonetic changes,¹ still survives in the modern forms of Khambhāt (કામ્બાત) and Kambāyat (کامبات). The Arab traveller Al Mas'ūdī (A.D. 915) tells of the prosperity of the place, which even in his day was famous for its sandals and its agates. Subject to the Chaulukya and later to the Vāghlī monarchs of Anhilvād, it surrendered about the year 1304 to the army of 'Alau-dīn Khiljī, and for 130 years thereafter remained under Muslim rule. About the middle of this period, and especially under the fostering hand of Mahmūd Begadā (A.D. 1458-1511), the city reached the zenith of its glory. Early European travellers, naturally better acquainted with the ports of Western India than with its inland towns, were wont to call the country of Gujarāt the Kingdom of Cambay,² and to style the Sultan of Gujarāt the Prince of Cambay.³

In 1573 along with the rest of Gujarat, Cambay was annexed by the Emperor Akbar, who does not, however, seem to have exercised in this city the victor's prerogative of issuing coins bearing his own name. Already the muhrs and rupees of Ahmadābād, the Mahmūdīs of Sūrāt, and the Korīs of Kach and Navinagar doubtless sufficed for local currency. It is not till the reign of Akbar's successor that we meet with any reference to a distinctively Cambay coinage, and even then, it would seem, the issue was not for currency purposes but merely in commemoration of Jahāngīr's royal visit to the city. He states in his "Memoirs" —

"At this time [the twelfth regnal year] an order was given that tankas of gold and silver should be coined twice the weight of ordinary muhrs and rupees. The legend on the

¹ Stambha tīrtha = Skambha tīrtha,
= Kambha tīrtha
= Kambha ittha
= Kambhā ittha (Prākṛt).
= Kambhāt,
= Kambhāyat

whence the variants Khambhāt, Kambāyat, and Kambūyat

² In the sixteenth century Cambay could be used as a term synonymous with the Empire of the Great Mogul. Hakluyt records a letter written from the Queen's Majesty to Zohatun Echebar, King of Cambaia and sent by John Newbery. In February Anno 1553 "Hakluyt's "Voyages" (Maclehose's Reprint), V, 450

³ It is to the Gujarāt sultān Mahmūd Begadā, the Machamuth of Varthema, that reference is made in the well known lines

"The Prince of Cambay's daily food
Is asp and ba disk and toad"

"gold coin was on one side the words 'Jahangir hahī, 1027 (1618),' and on the reverse 'Struck in Cambay in the 12th year of the reign' The legend for silver coins was on one side 'Sikka, Jahangir hahī, 1027', round it this hemistich, 'King Jahangir of the conquering ray struck this', and on the reverse, 'Coined at Cambay in the 12th year of the reign,' with this second hemistich round it—'When after the conquest of the Deccan he came to Gujarat from Mandū'"

My friend Mr N D Minocher Homji, Professor of Persian at the Gujarat Arts College, Ahmadabad, has kindly looked up this passage in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, and the extract he has sent me certainly seems to record the very words of the e tanka legends. They read as follows —

Gold Tanka

<i>Obv</i>	چہانگیر شاہی سنہ ۱۰۲۷
<i>Rev</i>	صوبہ دکن کا سنہ ۱۲ جلوس

Silver Tanka

<i>Obv</i>	Area	چہانگیر شاہی سنہ ۱۰۲۷
	Margin	در اس سکہ وہ شاہ چہانگیر ظفر بود
<i>Rev</i>	Area	صوبہ کھنڈاب سنہ ۱۲ جلوس
	Margin	پس ا فتح دکن آمد چہ د گد اب ار صدد

I am not aware that a single specimen of these Jahangiri tankas of Cambay is contained at the present day in any numismatic cabinet

Of the Cambay mint the earliest coin known to me is a rupee of the Hijri year 1031 but from that date till the reign of Alamgir II the mint was in more or less active operation. Whether under the Mughal Emperors it ever issued any copper coins is doubtful certainly none seem to have survived to one day. In all nine muls are in evidence namely two of Shah Jahan I one of Murad Baksh and six (including two duplicates) of Aurangzēb. The following Table shows the reigns in

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* Rogers and Beveridge pp. 41-418

In *Lawson & Eliot*, VI 354-355 these newly struck tankas are said to have been not two but ten and twenty times heavier than the current gold mohur and rupee

² In H 1030 the imperial troops were despatched to chastise the Holis and Khatris in Gujarat (*Lawson & Eliot* VII 8) and possibly it was during the period of this punitive expedition that the Mughal mint was opened in Cambay

which any coins are known to have issued from the Cambay mint

Reign	Metal		Reign	Metal	
I. Shah Jahan I	G	S	VII Rafi al darajāt		S
II Murād Baksh	C	S	VIII Shah Jahan II		S
III Aurangzeb	G	S	IX Muḥammad		S
IV Shah 'Alam I		S	Shah		
V Jahāndar		S	X Aḥmad Shah		S
VI Farrukh siyar		S	XI Alamgir II		S

We now proceed to describe the Cambay coins of each of these reigns *seriatim*

I SHAH JAHAN I A H 1037-1069 A D 1628-1659

Gold No 1 28-xxxx (Bleazby) 30 1067 (I M C 852)

Obv Area square with looped corners

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله

Margin lower صدق ابى بكر

left و عدل عمر

upper نارم عثمان

, right و علم على

Hijri year in left margin

Rev Area square with looped corners

نارم عثمان

— — —

سنة حضان

Margin upper شهاب الدين

, right محمد صاحب

, lower قول تانى

left ضرب كهداد

Regnal year in right margin

Silver: No. 1: x-1051: (Fig. 1).

Obv. and *Rev.* as on muhr No. 1.

But Hijri year thus ١٠٥١ in right margin of obverse, and regnal year wanting.

Silver: No. 2: 20-1058: (Fig. 2).

Obv. and *Rev.* as on muhr No. 1.

Silver: No. 3: 24-xxxx: (Fig. 3).

Obv. and *Rev.* as on muhr No. 1.

But Hijri year wanting, and regnal year *rr* in lower right corner of area of reverse.

Silver: No. 4: 26-1063: (Fig. 4).

Obv. and *Rev.* as on muhr No. 1.

But Hijri year thus ١٠٦٣ in left margin of obverse, and regnal year *rr* in left margin of reverse.

Silver: No. 5: 28-1064; 28-1065; 30-1067; x-1067 (Bleazby); 32-1069.

Same as silver No. 2.

The rupees Nos. 961-964 of I.M.C. are dated 1060, 1061, 1065 and 1068, but their regnal years are not given.

II. MURĀD BAKHSH: A.H. 1068; A.D. 1657-1658.

Gold: No. 1: ١٠٦٨—1068 (Bleazby): (Fig. 5)

Obv.: Area square with looped corners.

يَا أَيُّهَا الْمَلِكُ

محمّد

رسول الله

Margin right:

بصدق أبي بكر

„ lower:

و عدل عمر

„ left:

نازوم عثمان

„ upper

و علم علي

Hijri year ١٠٦٨ in lower margin.

Rev.: Area square with looped corners.

مادشا عار

محمّد مراد بخش

Margin right:

هو المشكور

„ lower:

مزوج الدين

„ left:

ضرب كمبايت

„ upper:

احد

Obt and Rel as on muhr No 1

Obv Area square with looped corners

പി. ജെ. ജോർജ്

وصولي الله

بصدق ای دگر

وعادل عمر

ما رزم عثمان

و علم علی

High year 1948 in left margin

عاری

pl_____

صوم و بخشش وای

حد ادی صاع

الهي صرف لهجات

lower illegible

Right

المظهر ٢٠٠٠

انوسو

Bottom

الذي

[Top](#)

صورت لہذا ہے

Gold No 1 حد —(?) 1071 (Bahawalpur To halhana)

Obv عا م گنر
اورنگ زب
—
د ح م م م م
—

Hijri year wanting

Rev کباب
مانس صر
م د ب
حلوس سده احد

Regnal year احد to left of سده

Gold No 2 7 1044 (I M C 1130)

Obv As on muhr No 1 but with روحان in bottom line

Hijri year over حان

Rev مانوس
م م م م
حلوس سده
ص
ب

Regnal year v over سده

Gold No 3 9-1074 (I M C 1031 also in Br Mus)

Obv As on muhr No -

Rev As on muhr No
but حلوس سده

Gold No 4 41 1109 (Lucknow Museum also in Br Mus)

Obv As on muhr No 3

Rev As on muhr No 3
but کباب

Silver No 1 حد 1040 (White lead cab net)

Obv

عالم گیر

اورنگ رب

ش—ا

ود چو بدر مدبر

م—ک

در حیاں

Hijri year 1075 over حیاں

Rev As on muhr No 1

Regnal year 1 to left of سده

Silver No 2 3-107x (Fig 7)

Obv As on rupee No 1

Hijri year 107 over حیاں

Rev As on muhr No 2

Regnal year 3 over سده

Silver No 3 6-xxxx (I M C No 1383)

Obv As on rupee No 1

Hijri year wanting

Rev

مانوس

میدب

سده خلوس

صرب

کهنداب

Regnal year 6 over سده

Silver No 4 7-1075 (Fig 8)

Obv As on rupee No 1

Hijri year 1075 over حیاں

Rev

مانوس

میدب

خلوس سده

صرب

کنداب

Regnal year 7 over سده

Note —The mint-name is spelled Khambāyat on the rupee of regnal year 6 (see No 3), but Kambayat on that of the year 7,

and this latter form—Kambayat—appears on all the rupees that subsequently issued from the mint. We find, however, Khambayat on one type of the copper coins of the Cambay State currency.

Silver	No 5	
	Rupees	7-1075, 9-1077, 11-1078, 12-1079 (B M), 14-1081, 1x-1081 (I M C), 14-1082, 15-1083 (I M C), 14-1084, 17-1084, 17-1085; 18-1085 (I M C), 19-1087, 20-1088, 2x-1088, 22-1089 (Fig. 9); 2x-1089 (I M C), 23-1090 (Bleazbv), 2x-1090, 23-1091 (I M C), 24-1091, 24-1092, 25-1093, 2x-1095 (I M C), 28-1096 (I M C), 29-1096, 30-1098, 31-1099 (I M C), 32-1100, 33-1100 (I M C), 33-1101 (I M C), 34-1102, 36-1104 (I M C), 3x-1104 (B M), 38-1106, 3x-1106 (I M C), 39-1107, 40-1107, 41-1109, 4x-1109 (B M C), 43-1111, 45-1112
	Half rupees	19-1087 ~ 24-1091, 3x-1098, 3x-1100, 34-1102
Obv	Rim of two linear circles with a circle of dots between them	
	Legend as on rupee No. 1	
	Hijri year over حجرات	
Rev	سنة سنة سنة سنة سنة	

Regnal year over سنة

Note 1 —It would seem that in the course of the year 7-1075 the position of سنة was changed from the left to the right of حجرات.

Note 2 —In the fourteenth regnal year there was clearly some carelessness in the dating of the rupees for that year certainly could not have synchronized with all the three Hijri years 1081, 1082, and 1084. Note also that one of the Cam

hay rupees in the Indian Museum is dated 15-1083.

Silver: No. 6: x-1080; 47-1116 (Fig. 10); 48-1116 (B.M.); 49-1116 (I.M.C.); 51-1118.

Obv. . As on rupee No. 1.

Hijrī year in the Gāf of اورنگ زیب

Rev : As on rupee No. 5.

Regnal year over سنہ

Silver: No. 7: 41-1109 (Fig. 11).

Obv. : As on *muhr* No. 2.

Hijrī year 1109 over جہاں

Rev. : As on rupee No. 5.

Regnal year ۴۱ over سنہ

Note —From Nos. 5 and 7 it is evident that in the year 41-1109 some rupees were issued bearing the چونددر مدبر and others the چو مہر مدبر legend

IV. SHĪĀH 'ĀLAM I BAHADUR A.H. 1119-1124; A.D. 1707-1712.

Silver: No. 1: ۱۱۱۹-1119. (Fig. 12).

Obv. :

ع ا ی
ش
عالم دار
ش
سکہ ۱۱۱۹

Hijrī year 1119 to left of سنہ

Rev :

مانوس
ظفر
حلوس سنہ
صرب
کنایت

Regnal year ۱۱۱۹ over سنہ

On the legend حلوس ظفر مانوس, 'the reign associated with victory,' see Num. Suppl. No. XI, pages 328, 329.

Silver No 2 2 1121 (Bleazby) 4-1122 (Bleazby)
 4-xxxx (Fig 13) 5-xxxx (B M), and undated rupee (I M C
 No 1688)

Obv

عارف
 بادشاه
 بهادر
 شاه عالم
 ک
 سکه مدر

Hijri year wanting

Rev

مادس
 صد خلوس
 صد
 صر
 کیناب

Regnal year over سنه

V JAHANDAR A H 1124 A D 1712 13

Silver Rupee حد xxxx (Fig 14) Half rupee احد xxxx

Obv

جهاندر شاه
 حو صهر و ماه ابد العبد عا
 ک
 در فارد

Hijri year to left of ر

Rev

مادو
 صد خلوس س
 صد
 صر
 کیناب

Regnal year over سنه احد

VI IARRUBH SIYAR A H 1124-1131, A D 1713-1719

Silver No 1 Rupee, حد-112x (Fig 15) 5 1128 (Blew
by) Half rupee, حد-112x

Obv

حق فرج ستر
شاه
ار فصل ناد بعرو و در
سکه

رد بر منم و

Hijri year 112x below فصل

Rev

م نو
سنة خلوس س
صوب
کنداب

Regnal year حد over سنة

1130 Silver No 2 4 xx27, 5-xx28 6-xx29 (Fig 16) 7

Obv

معترو نو فرج ستر
شاه
ار فصل حق ناد
سکه
رد بر منم و در

Hijri year to left of haf of سکه

Rev

مانوس
منمک
سنة خلوس
صوب
کنداب

Regnal year over سنة

VII RAFI AL DARAJAT A H 1131 A D 1719.

Silver حد xxxx (Fig 17)

Obv

محمد شاه

—

نادر شاه عار

—

سکه منار

Hijri year to right of محمد

Rev

مانوس

میمنت

سکه خلوس

صرب

کندایب

Regnal year over سکه

X AHMAD SHAH BAHADUR A H 1161-1167, A D 1748-1754

Silver احد'-11xx (Fig 20), احد-xxxx (I M C), 3-11xx
(Bleazby), 2-116x, 3-1164

Obv

احمد شاه نادر

—

نادر شاه عار

—

سکه منار

Hijri year to right of احمد

Rev

مانوس

صوبت

سکه خلوس

صرب

کندایب

Regnal year over سکه

XI. 'ALAMGIR II A H 1167-1173, A D 1754-1769

Silver احد-11xx (Fig 21), 6-1173 (Bleazby), 6-xxxx,
x-1178 (sic)

Obv

عالم گیر

شاه

—

نادر شاه عار

ک

سکه صغار

Hijri year above عالم گیر of گیر

Rev

موس

منیب

سکه خلوس

صوب

کنداب

Regnal year over سکه

Though Cambay became practically independent of the Imperial power as early as A.D. 1730, its coins continued to bear the name of the regnant Mughal Emperor of Delhi certainly till the time of Alamgir II, and possibly even later. After this quasi-imperial currency had ceased, the Nawabs issued both in silver and in copper a state coinage of rude workmanship which only four or five years ago was still in circulation.

GEO. P. TAYLOR.

AHMADABAD

22nd November, 1912.

120 SOME KACHARI COINS

(With Plate XXVIII.)

The silver coins described below were purchased at Hailong in the North Cachar Hills, and were probably unearthed in the neighbourhood of Maibong, the capital of the Kachari kings from A.D. 1536-1706.

I. Coins of Jaso Narayana Deba.

(a)	Obv	Sri Sri Jaso Narayana Deba bhupalasya Saka 1505
	Rev	Hara Gauri Charana para- vana Hachengsa bangsaja.
	Weight	160 gr
	Size	1.47 in

(b)	<i>Obv</i>	Sri Sri Jaso Narayana Deba
	<i>Rev</i>	Hara Gauri Charana parā
	<i>Weight</i>	41 1 gr
	<i>Size</i>	9 in

II Coins of Satrudaman *alias* Pratapa Narayana

(a)	<i>Obv</i>	Sri Srindra Pratāpa Na
	<i>Rev</i>	Hari Charana Kamalā
	<i>Weight</i>	39 6 gr
	<i>Size</i>	9 in
(b)	<i>Obv</i>	Sri Srindra Pratāpa Naraya
	<i>Rev</i>	Hara Gauri Charana parā
	<i>Weight</i>	36 3 gr
	<i>Size</i>	9 in

The inscriptions are in the Bengali character

Satrudaman adopted the title of Pratapa Narayana after defeating a force sent against him by the Ahom king Pratāpa Simha in A D 1606, and the coins bearing that title were probably minted soon afterwards. The dated coin of Jaso Narayana Deba was struck in A D 1583. I can find no record of a king bearing this title, but we have no information as to the names or dates of the Kachari kings from the time they deserted Dimapur in A D 1536 until A D 1603 when Satrudaman was on the throne.

The reference to the mythical descent from Ha tsung-tsa, claimed by the Kachari royal family (Gait's History of Assam, page 243), is interesting. Except for this allusion to a mythical non-Hindu ancestry the inscriptions on these Kachari coins resemble those on the issues of the Ahom Koch and Jaintia kings.

The coins now described are evidently of the same series as the coins described by Mr H E Stapleton at page 160 J A S B, Vol VI, No 4 and with their aid it is not difficult to decipher that coin from the illustration (Plate XXIII, No 10)

<i>Obv</i>	Sri Sri Tamradhaj Narayana
<i>Rev</i>	Hara Gauri Charana parayana

The coin is thus of Tamradhaj during whose reign the Kacharis were driven from Maibong by the Ahoms under Rudra Simha in A D 1706.

Shillong

A W. BOTHAM

121 COINS OR MEDALS FROM KURNUL

(With Plate XXIX)

I have tried since I bought them at auction some ten years ago to attribute the two silver coins or medals I now describe with hopes that some member of the Indian Numis-

matic Society may know them. In the sale catalogue they were merely described as 'Presentation Pieces.'

No 1	شہنشاہ معظم	ہند الصر
	سلطان محمود عاز	المدينة المعمورة
	س العان	سنة خلوس

Size 1 75. Weight 5 rupees.

No 2	معزین امام آخر الزمان	قرنی حزینة المعمورة
------	-----------------------------	---------------------------

Size 1 5. Weight 3½ rupees.

آخر is I suppose meant for آخر 'the last.'

There are in the British Museum two pieces in gold quite similar to the above in size and legends, probably struck from the same dies, and one small gold and one small copper described below, Nos 3 and 4. These are marked in the Cabinet "Kurnūl," but it is unknown why they are so attributed. According to the account of Kurnūl in the 'Imperial Gazetteer of India' that State was ceded by the Nizam to the British in 1800, but the Nawab Manavar was left in possession of the jagir subject to the tribute of a lac of rupees. Manavar was succeeded in 1823 by his brother Ghulam Ra'ūl Khan the last of the Nawabs of Kurnūl.

No 3 Gold British Museum

معمور	المدينة المعمورة
سكة	سنة
المعارضة السلطان عا	معمورة المانوس
س العان	سنة

Size 1 25 و العلوس

ي for س and معمورة for المميرة probably.

No 4 Copper British Museum

سلطان محمود

عار—پ

س العان

—ک

مکه منار

مدينة المعمور

صرب

۵۵۲

سنة حلوس

میمنت

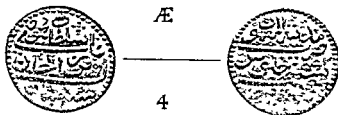
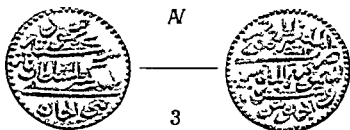
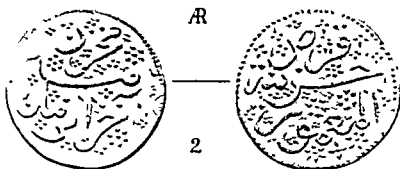
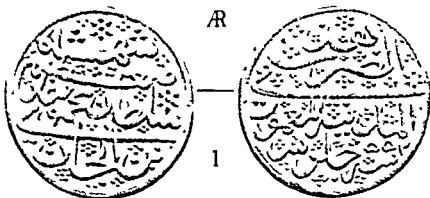
مادوس

There is little doubt I think as to the readings, but some of the phrases such as *الصر* مد and *فرس* I have not seen before on coins. It will be very interesting if one can be told who Mahmūd Ghazī b al Jan was and where the Madinat al M'amūr and the Khazinat al M'amūr were situated. The marks like an inverted heart seen before the numerals of the year are, I think symbols not as at first sight they may be taken to be the Arabic cipher five

OLIVER CODRINGTON

London





Note The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 559 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1912

(With plates X-VI)


122 A KIND OF EPHTHALITE OR WHITE HUN COINS

In December 1911 during the course of excavations made by Mr H Hargreaves on behalf of the Archaeological Department of India at Kanishka's *chaitya* Shahjī ki Dherī, North West Frontier Province, a rouleau of sixteen Ephthalite or White Hun coins was found at a spot sixteen feet west of the main monastery wall I have been allowed to publish these coins the types of which are in the first of the two plates illustrating this paper



It is probable that the rouleau was originally wrapped in cloth The coins appeared to be of copper but this turned out to be a superficial deposit only and was easily removed On analysis the coins were found to be silver with a small admixture of copper

The specimens illustrated are ten in number the reverse sides of all exhibiting the usual fire altar and its guardians The first is obviously a double-struck coin, the original being an ordinary Sassanian silver piece Nos 2 to 5 appear to me to be identical in type and there were seven specimens like these The Brahmi character *she* appears behind the bust Coin No 7 is different and bears the Brahmi character *cha*, probably No 6 is the same as No 7 Coins Nos 8 and 9 are single specimens while there were four like No 10 The design in the left lower field of No 10 may be a mere ornament or may be the character *tha* reversed

Coin No 10 is the only one which appears to have been previously published—see Sir A Cunningham's monograph on the coins of the Ephthalites or White Huns Plate VIII No 14 [Num Chron 1894] He describes the legend on the coin as being in unknown characters All the coins now described exhibit legends in the same language which I suppose is a Turki or Tartar tongue or they may possibly be attempts to portray some known language I may instance the coins with corrupt Greek inscriptions described in Cunningham's paper

The White Hun symbol  is prominent on these coins and must have been adopted by the Ephthalites from the Sassanians because this nomad horde had no money or

written language of its own at the time of its collision with the Sassanians, and it was customary for the victorious White Huns to adapt the coinage of the conquered races to their own use. The type illustrated as Coin No 1 on Plate I may be termed the purely Sassanian type of White Hun coinage, and the distinctive symbol is akin to that found on Sassanian coins

, very like the planetary symbol  used by the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. When the Ephthalites invaded India they struck coins of Indo-Sassanian types exhibiting legends in Brahmi characters. So Coins Nos 2 to 10 belong to a type intermediate between the Sassanian and Indo-Sassanian, as they bear a Brahmi character in the field, but the legends have not become Indian. This accords well with their find spot on the Indian Frontier. An interesting and clear description of the various types of White Hun coin is contained in Mons E. Drouin's paper 'Le type monétaire sassanide et le monnayage indien' (Mémoires du Congrès International de Numismatique de Paris 1900).

I add a few supplementary remarks on some Indo-Sassanian coins and an Indo-Greek intaglio in my own collection. These are illustrated in the second plate.

No 11. Cp Cunningham, 'Coins of the Little Kushans' (Kidara Shahi), Pl VI, 1 (Num Chron 1893). The coin described by Sir A. Cunningham was a silver piece of a Sassanian type, but bearing a Brahmi legend *Kidara Kushāna Shāhi*. The word *Kushana* is quite distinct on the copper coin now described, which is a new type. It is almost identical with the smaller piece, Coins of the White Huns (Cunningham, Num Chron 1894), Pl IX, 23, but the inscriptions differ.

No 12. This is similar to White King Sale Catalogue, Part I, No 864. The reverse merely consists of the Ephthalite symbol within a double circle. It may be a coin of Napki Malka—Cp Cunningham 'Coins of the White Huns,' Pl X, 2.

No 13. This coin is akin to the money of Napki Malka. It bears the White Hun symbol, and a legend in what may be corrupt Greek characters *oshano*.

No 14. A good specimen of the very rare silver coinage of the White Hun monarch Mibirakula. The legend in Brahmi characters reads quite clearly *Jayatu Mibirakula*. In front of the bust of the king are a trident, and sitting bull and behind it is a spear, or spear-headed standard.

No 15 and No 16. Specimens of a silver coin exhibiting the bust of a king in front of which is the sun standard. Over it in Brahmi characters are the word *Jayatu*, and the name of the king which has been read as Balasara, Bagamsara or Baysara. The name appears to be new.

No 17. A silver piece with bust of king to right, to r, symbol, to l, White Hun symbol. Above are the Brahmi

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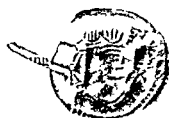


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11

.E



12

B₁



13

R



14



R



15



R



16

R



17

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19

R



18



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words [Shahi] Jarukha This is a new name Coin No 13, Pl VIII of Cunningham's "Coins of the White Huns," is a very similar piece, but the name on that is Jabula

No 18 Cp "Coins of the White Huns," Plate IX, No 1 Cunningham read the inscription as Vaiga, but it may be Khega, or Khege

No 19 Cp "White-King Sale Catalogue," Part I, No 890 The object in front of the bust looks like a closed umbrella There was probably an inscription to right and left of the upper field but this is off the coin

No 20 An intaglio probably in agate, of good artistic execution The male figure is nude except for a waist-cloth, and carries a bow and arrow To the right is a Kharoshthi legend which I read as *Sagavatigasa*

The reverse sides of Coins Nos 11 to 19, with the exception of No 12, are of the usual Sassanian type

R B WHITEHEAD

123 THE OLDEST BRITISH MURSHIDABAD RUPEE

A most difficult problem has always been to distinguish the native fashioned Murshidabad rupees into three series —

1st—those coined at Murshidabad by the Nawab of Bengal,

2nd—the same coined under British control, and

3rd—those struck at Calcutta by the Company, all three sets bearing the mint-name Murshidabad

The latest contribution to this question is, so far I am aware, a paper of Mr H N Wright in J A S B 1904 (Num Suppl No 28) which can be resumed as follows —

(a) Between 1171 and 1176 A H the Company's Mint at Calcutta issued rupees with the name "Kalkatta" and after that date the name Calcutta disappears altogether,

(b) all Murshidabad rupees till and including the fifth regnal year of Shah 'Alam (1178) are purely native issues,

(c) the Murshidabad rupees bearing the regnal years sixth, seventh eighth and ninth are British coins from Murshidabad, the Calcutta Mint being closed during this period

(d) from the regnal year tenth (1183 A H) onwards all the Murshidabad rupees were issued from the Calcutta Mint, the Murshidabad Mint having been closed for ever at this date

Hitherto the Murshidabad rupee of the fourth regnal year (1176) of Shah Alam has remained unknown even the Dinajpur find unearthed after the publication of J M C Johnston's paper "Coinage of the East India Company" (Num Chron 1903), and containing 119 native-style Murshidabad rupees did not offer a single piece of that date, it seems that no coins were issued from the native *atelier* at Murshidabad during this year

A most remarkable coin in my cabinet poses a new riddle

it is a rupee of Murshidabad fourth regnal year, 1176 A H (1762-3) in all particulars resembling the piece of Calcutta No 67, Brit Mus Cat. It is undoubtedly of European fabric, struck from a highly polished die well engraved, perfectly round and of a superior workmanship. Whether it is struck in a ring or from a free die is not easy to decide, the edge having probably been hammered.

I would believe this rupee to be a proof pattern of the Calcutta Mint, designed after the order to suppress the word

Calcutta' on the dies of this mint. The pattern and the European fashion not having been approved the mint at Calcutta was closed and the operations continued in the native style in Murshidabad till the tenth regnal year (1183=1770) at this date the mint was again, and for ever, removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta.



E. V. ZAMBAUR

Wiener Neustadt, Austria

124 THE MINT TOWN ZAIN UL-BILAD

This name is only found on the coins of Muhammad Shah bearing the date of the first five or six years of his reign. The term which means 'The Glory of Cities' has rightly been distinguished from Zinat-ul bilad 'the Adornment of Cities,' though the difference is very small and it has hitherto been thought wise not to assume that it like Zinat ul bilad is an epithet or synonym of Ahmadabad.

Dr Taylor has pointed out to me that the period during which the term is found is entirely unrepresented by any coins from Ahmadabad.

The presumption for the ascription of the epithet to Ahmadabad is thus strengthened and an extract from the *Mir'at-i Ahmad* (Bombay Lith. ed. of A. H. 1306 Vol. II) confirms it. After the usual preface we find the words 'Balad-i Zain ul-bilad Ahmadabad' 'The City of Ahmadabad the Glory of Cities.' On page 4 of the same edition it is mentioned that the city is also called 'Zinat-ul bilad' and 'Urūs-i mamlikat.'

(the Bride of the Realm) I have never met with the latter epithet

I have also been shown a Persian document, in which Ahmadabad is called "Baldat-i Mahfuza Zam ul bilad Ahmadabad," The Walled City, &c" The document is dated A H 1169 a few years after the close of Muhammad Shah's reign and I am told that it is a common thing for documents drawn up in Ahmadabad about this period to use the epithet which is the subject of this note

A MASTER

Surat

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Note —The numeration of the article below is continued from p 485 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1913

125 THE POST-MUGHAL COINS OF AHMADABAD, OR A STUDY IN MINT MARKS

(With Plates IX—XI)

Dr Taylor in his admirable account of the coins of Ahmadabad to be found in J B B R A S No 56 Vol XX has confined his detailed treatment almost wholly to the coins minted when the Mughals were a power in the land. In this note I propose to discuss the coins struck after the first date on which the administration of Ahmadabad city and its parganas ceased to be in the hands of the Mughal Emperor's nominee and before the date of the introduction of the British Imperial coinage. The period between these two dates I have called the Post Mughal period. It was an epoch of transition during which Ahmadabad and its environs were the theatre of constant struggles negotiations and agreements between the Peshwa the Gayakwad (*Anglice* Gaikwar) and the British. The Mughal Emperor at Delhi was still regarded as the suzerain of Gujarat but only a suzerain in the vaguest meaning of the word. He was respected even deeply respected but only as a tradition. The newly emancipated states felt towards the Emperor much as a boy who has just left school feels towards his old head master—an attitude of respect mingled with complete independence. And as an old boy is wont to wear his old school colours so did the Marathas retain the name of the Emperor on their coins and even titles which had been bestowed upon them from Delhi.

The retention of the Emperor's name upon coins issued by independent states has caused a serious difficulty in classification. Various methods have been adopted and the Numismatic Society of India has adopted a provisional system of including under the name of Mughal all coins bearing the name of a Mughal Emperor up to the close of the reign of Shah Alam.

This paper does not follow this system and will I hope make it clear that the end of the reign of Ahmad Shah sees the last of the issues of coins by the Mughal Emperors in Ahmadabad and that the accession of Alamgir II in A H 1167 inaugurates a series of non Mughal coins broken only by the issues of A H 1170 and possibly also of A H 1171, when Ahmadabad

was for a last brief space in the hands of an Imperial Governor. The proof of this statement must be left to the history of the period and to the coins themselves.

History—(1) (General)

Authorities Watson, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I, Part I (Mir'at-i Ahmadi)

From 1707 till 1817 A.D., the City of Ahmadabad was in a continual turmoil, except for short periods of comparative peace during the Gaikwar's and the earlier part of the Peshwa's administration. But up to 1738 A.D. the city, though repeatedly plundered by the Marathas, remained still with parts of the adjacent districts in the hands of a Mughal Governor.

In 1738 A.D. the Marathas were powerful enough to bring about a division of the city between the Mughal Governor and the agent of the Gaikwar, who represented their Peshwas in Gujarat. The arrangements lasted with interruptions until A.D. 1753, A.H. 1166. Then it was that the Peshwa and the Gaikwar uniting their forces captured the city, a large part of the Mughal province of Gujarat having been in the preceding year shared between them. The Baroda volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer* of 1883 A.D. says, 'From this time the Mughal Empire in Gujarat practically came to an end and the country was divided between the Peshwa and Gaikwar according to the terms first settled in 1751-52 and elaborated in 1753.'

The city was recovered in 1755 A.D., 1169 A.H., by Momin Khan, Nawab of Cambay, who took possession of it in the name of 'Alamgir II early in 1170 A.H. For this exploit the Emperor bestowed a dress of honour and the title of Bahadur upon him. Watson (B.G., Vol I, Part I, page 341) records an interesting incident in this connection from the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, which shows what respect was paid to the Imperial suzerainty. When the envoys bearing the Imperial farman granting the dress of honour and the title were reported to be nearing Ahmadabad, the city was being closely besieged by the Marathas who had lost no time in trying to recover their conquest of 1753 A.D. Momin Khan asked and actually obtained permission from the besiegers to proceed from the city to meet the envoys in accordance with the etiquette of the Mughal court.

The siege terminated in A.D. 1757, A.H. 1171, with the surrender of the city by Momin Khan to the combined armies of the Peshwa and Gaikwar. The last efforts on behalf of the Empire had resulted only in an occupation of less than two years, and henceforward Gujarat was governed without reference to Delhi.

After their second conquest of Ahmadabad, the Peshwa and Gaikwar divided the revenues of the city. The adminis-

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Note



Note

27



POST MUGHAL COINS OF AHMĀDĀBAD

(the numbers correspond with those in the Appendix)

- (Note refers to the last paragraph of the Note at end of Appendix)

28



29



32



33



38



41



42



44



46



48



POST MUGHAL COINS OF AHMĀDĀBAD
(the numbers correspond with those in the Appendix)

50



51



59



2a



Æ

2a (var)



Æ

47a



Æ

49b



Æ

53b



Æ

POST MUGHAL COINS OF AHMĀDĀBAD
(the numbers correspond with those in the Appendix)

[N S]

tration remained as formerly in the hands of the Peshwa, while the Gaikwar to safeguard his interests held one gate and kept a representative in the city. The surrounding districts were held as before, partly by the Peshwa and partly by the Gaikwar.

For the next 20 or 25 years the Gaikwar was constantly at loggerheads with the Peshwa and the quarrel culminated in Fatehsinha Gaikwar calling in the aid of the British. General Goddard captured the city in February 1780 A D , 1194 A H . It was then handed over to Fatehsinha.

Fatehsinha remained in possession for nearly three years and at the end of this period the treaty of Salbai 1783 A D , 1197 A H , restored the *status quo*. The Peshwa administered the city until 1800 A D , 1214 A H , in which year the Gaikwar's general Bābaji attacked and defeated Abu Shelukar, the governor of the Peshwa. The Peshwa had long been anxious to get rid of Abu Shelukar, who had been troublesome, and made no attempt to restore him, but leased Ahmadabād for four years to the Gaikwar. This transaction took place late in 1800 A D in the earlier half of 1215 A H . The lease was renewed in 1804 A D for ten more years, but on the expiration of the latter period the Peshwa fearing, no doubt, the rivalry of the Gaikwar refused to renew, and leased the city to a private individual.

The result was disastrous to the prosperity of the city and in 1817 A D , 1232 A H , the Peshwa yielding to strong pressure from the British Government let the farm of Ahmadabad in perpetuity to the Gaikwar. The Treaty of Poona, which contained among other provisions the above agreement, was signed in May 1817 A D in the first half of 1232 A H .

Later in the year the Gaikwar agreed to hand over Ahmadabad with his rights in it to the British Government, and in December 1817 A D , in the first month of 1233 A H , the city was formally transferred. Mr Dunlop was appointed as the first Collector.

History—(2) (Numismatic)

Watson, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Part 1

Campbell, Bombay Gazetteer, Vol IV, Ahmedabad

Bombay Government records, Ahmedabad, 1818-1835

Major Watson in his History of Gujarat makes various references to coinage, for which his chief authority is the Mir'at-i-Ahmadi. Speaking of the first occupation of the city by the Marathas in 1753 A D , 1166 A H , he says, "In the Ahmedabad mint coin was no longer struck in the name of the Emperor." The appendix to this note contains a list of known Ahmedabad coins of 1165 A H and after. From it we see that the last coin minted by Ahmad Shāh is dated in the earlier part of the year 1165 A H . There is then a gap of some years and Major Watson's statement is so far borne out, though it is incorrect in so far as it implies that the name of the Emperor was not used on any subsequent coins. It is quite possible,

however, and even probable, that the statement refers merely to the stoppage of the mint for all coins

During Momin Khān's occupation of Ahmadabād, 1756-1757 A D, 1170-1171 A H, Major Watson records, "The copper vessels of such of the townspeople as had fled were now melted and coined into money and given to the soldiery." Nothing is said about silver coinage, but it is a priori unlikely that the mint should be opened for coinage of copper only. And in fact Dr Taylor has in his cabinet (see appendix Nos 5 and 6) two coins of this period, 10 1170 and 1171 A H

To confirm the statement that copper was coined about the time of Momin Khān's occupation, I have in my cabinet (v app 2a) an Ahmadabad paisa of 'Alamgir II dated either 2 3 or 4 A H. The right-hand extremity of the "Julus" year is not on the coin, and on consideration of the evidence I feel inclined to put the figure at 3 or 4. It occupies an earlier place in the list of the appendix than I now consider it should hold, because it was my first impression that the accession of 'Alamgir would involve fresh coinage both of silver and copper and there was a temptation to believe that the copper coin was of the same date as the earliest silver coin of 'Alamgir

A third and most interesting remark made by Major Watson is as follows: "On receiving the government of the city (from Momin Khan) the Maratha general ordered new coin bearing the mark of an elephant goad to be struck in the Ahmedabad mint. This was the second occupation of Ahmadabad in 1171 A H by the Marathas and the first coin (app No 7) known to be issued after 1171 A H bears the ankush or elephant goad, just as Major Watson states. But this is not the first time the ankush appears on an Ahmadabad coin. The rupees issued during the first Maratha occupation also bear the ankush, and the quotation from Watson contains a want of correspondence of dates easily accounted for, when we remember that Major Watson is the earliest English authority for the fact of the two occupations of Ahmadabad by the Marathas. By previous historians the Marathas were considered to have occupied the city continuously after its first surrender to them until the time when the British Government took it over. Probably the Momin Khān who recaptured the city in A H 1169 was erroneously identified with the earlier Momin Khān, Governor of Ahmadabad, who died circ A H 1156

The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol IV, Ahmadabad, supplies certain information of value for our purpose. We hear (page 72) that in 1817 on taking over charge from the Gaekwar authorities of the city of Ahmedabad, Mr Dunlop found the mint closed and the supply of circulating medium so low as seriously to impede traffic. He soon administered relief by issuing a large quantity of new sicca rupees."

[N S]

It is probable that the mint had not been closed for long as we have both Peshwa's and Gaikwar's coinage for the year 1732 A H, but the fact that the supply of currency was short need not be doubted.

Mr Dunlop was then responsible for the issue of the silver coins dated 1233 A H (1818 A D) and onwards. The abandonment by him of the ankush and the adoption of the conventional rose in its stead need not be dwelt upon in this place as mintmarks are being dealt with under a separate and subsequent section.

Government of Bombay records show how the standard of sikkas were fixed. Mr Dunlop mentions the standard fixed by Shelukar (Abu Shelukar the Peshwa's governor) expelled by the Gaikwar in Samvat 1849 (1793 A D 1207 08 A H) according to which we now coin. The Bombay Assay Master in 1819 specially complimented the Collector of Ahmadabad (Mr Dunlop) on the close adherence to a uniform standard both of weight and purity. The mean standard which the Assay Master accepts is of weight 181 grains and of touch (percentage of pure silver) 85.25. It is interesting to notice the amount of variation considered as reasonable. Mr Dunlop's heaviest average coin for one month weighed 182 grains touch 85.25 and his lightest 180.25 touch 85.5—a variation either way of about 1 grain as regards weight and negligible as regards touch.

Mr Dunlop also states that the siccas of those days (in 1788 A D) were worth intrinsically $\frac{1}{2}\%$ more than those following Shelukar's standard.

In addition to the silver coinage Mr Dunlop obtained permission in 1818 to coin 100 maunds of copper. The shroffs had been making a corner in copper coin and earning large profits. A new issue was greatly in demand.

Mr Dunlop ascertained that the normal rate of exchange for copper coin was 60 pice to the rupee. He fixed the exchange for the sake of convenience (for divisions into annas apparently) at 64 pice to the rupee. The coins he issued are obviously those dated from 12—1234 to 14—1236 which have puzzled so many authorities.

The weight of the new coin was determined apparently by weighing 60 or a rupee's worth of old pice which were found to amount to a seer of 40 rupees weight. The new pice were therefore coined at 64 to the seer.

This gives the weight of the old pice at $120\frac{2}{3}$ gr and the weight of the new pice at $113\frac{1}{2}$ gr. But in point of fact what I take Mr Dunlop to mean by the old pice, is the recently issued Maratha pice (type B p 159) weigh from 127—118 grs. 1.1 grs is however not an uncommon weight and great exactitude in copper coins is not to be expected. The weights of the 'new pice' i.e. those of type C (p 160) range from 121—

116 grs. It is clear that they were meant to weigh less than the old pice and the fact that none are known to weigh the prescribed 113 grs need not be made much of. It is possible that a fall in the price of copper may have made rigorous exactitude of weightment unnecessary.

Dr Taylor suggests in his article upon Ahmadabad coins in the B B R A S Journal the descent of these "new pice" from the Akbari Do Tanki. Their connection with the "old pice" is one step towards the working out of this idea.

There is no other historical evidence ready to hand. It appears that the year 1835 A D which signalized the appearance of the imperial coins of William IV marked also the disappearance of the Ahmadabad sikhai mint. At any rate records show that in 1835, there was some difficulty in finding the ex-Daroga of the mint a suitable post and the presumption is that the mint had been closed about that year.

The latest date on a rupee in my cabinet is 1249 A H or 1833 34 A D.

The Coins (1) Description of types

I shall now give a description of the types of coin of the period, which fortunately are not numerous.

Gold—As far as I know no gold coins were minted.

Silver—The silver coins known are rupees and half rupees. The weight of the rupee is 180 grs more or less and that of the half rupee averages 90 grs. I have in the preceding section referred to the method of determination of the standard weight for practical purposes. It does not differ from the ordinary Mughal standard. The length of the diameter of the coins is unimportant, they exhibit the same variations as similar Mughal coins. There is similarly no difference of type of inscription. Dr Taylor has described the stock inscription of coins subsequent to Muhammad Shah's reign and for the sake of convenience this is repeated below—

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
King's name date	
—————	مانوس
پادشاه عار	صمد
—————	number
سکه عار	سده خلوس
	صوب
	احمد آباد

There is however a variation in the coins minted in and after A H 1242. On them we find the date *below* the ya of

[N S]

Gh izi instead of above and in the last years of the mint in the middle instead of on the *right* hand side of the obverse

The half rupees were struck from the same die as the rupee and bear almost always very fragmentary inscriptions

The metal of which these coins are composed are of varying touch Without having made any analyses, I may record my impression from observation that the older coins contain a larger proportion of pure silver than the latter, particularly those minted during the British regime But analyses were made in the past by the Assay Office at Bombay and the Assay reports seem to prove that the British minted rupees of Ahmadabad were of higher touch than the Maratha rupees

The rupees vary much as regards mint marks and this is important enough to be treated later separately and in detail

Copper — Copper coins are not numerous, but there are at least three types minted at three different periods

Type A — Period 1170—1171 A H App 2a

wt 111 grs

Obverse

عالم کمر

← ———

فلوس

Reverse

—————ک

منار

حلوس

number

صرب

احمد آباد

Mubarak on the reverse is a tentative reading, the stroke forming base of the kaf being alone visible

Type B — Period 1231—1232 A H App 47a and 49a b

wts 127—118 grs

Obverse

اکبر شاه

date ۱ ———

فلوس داد

Reverse

—————ک

منار

number

سند حلوس

صرب

احمد آباد

Type C — Period 1234—1236 A H App 53a c

wts 121—116 grs

Obverse

اکبر شاہ

date

ہاوس

Reverse

ہاوس

number

سہ

احمد آباد

v JBBRAS Vol XX,
No LVI p 439 and
plate

I know of only one specimen of type A and that is in my cabinet. Specimens of type B are rare, but type C is not infrequently met with. It may be said that type A may be ascribed to Aurangzib. But a comparison of the type with similar types of Aurangzib and Alamgir II will, I believe, unhesitatingly pronounce in favour of the second 'Alamgir'. The sizes of the coins are unimportant. They are very irregular and vary from an imperfect circle to an uneven square. The points are rather smaller though thicker than the current imperial paise (pice). The mint marks to be found on the copper pieces will be discussed later.

The coins (2) (mint marks and comments)

I now come to what perhaps is the most important part of this paper. In the majority of expositions of coins so much information has been obtainable from other features such as literal and pictorial inscriptions that no attempt has been made to deal at all systematically with the variations of conventional marks. I do not claim that my selection of subjects was due to any originality or thoroughness of treatment and in fact it was only the numismatic dullness of the period which was in such striking contrast to the bustle and action of its history which directed my attention to the remarkable variation of mint marks as a mine which might profitably be dug in. I was, in fact, forced to make my differentiations by mint marks or not at all. The immediate cause of my attention being turned to the matter was the sentence that I have quoted from the Bombay Gazetteer that Mr Dunlop the first Collector of Ahmadabad, finding the commerce of the city much impeded by the want of coin obtained permission to reopen the mint at Ahmadabad. Coins of the period subsequent to the British occupation were known to exist both in Dr Taylor's cabinet and in other collections although no definite ascription of them had been made to Mr Dunlop's

Mint It struck the eye on looking through Dr Taylor's cabinet that some coins of the later Mughals bore the ankush and others not and it was a natural step forward to enquire whether the presence and absence of the ankush corresponded with any definite period of occupation by different powers. A short examination showed that the British coins did not bear the ankush and this fact together with the knowledge that one or two coins existed bearing the letters *म* (presumably for *Gul* *war*) lay a wide field open to further inquiry. But the scarcity of material presented difficulties and Dr Taylor's cabinet of Mughal coins extremely helpful as it was could not be expected to contain coins which were obviously not Mughal. I therefore made a special search among the so called *sikkas* of Ahmadabad which are to be found in large numbers in the silver dealers' shop. These *sikkas* I found to be struck with extraordinary uniformity so as to exclude the date both of the Hijri years and of the Mughal Emperor's *julūs*. The result was that only about one coin in a hundred yielded the requisite data and it will be understood that a perfectly complete series was hard to obtain.

A list of the known coins of the Ahmadabad Mint of and after 1160 A H is to be found in the Appendix which to a large extent explains itself. Its indebtedness for the years between 1160 and 1200 A H to Dr Taylor's cabinet will be seen. The subsequent coins are mainly from my own cabinet.

The principal mint marks in this series appears to be in the loop of the *sin* of *julūs* on the reverse and unless it is stated to the contrary all mint marks will be understood to occupy this position. The last Mughal marks are those of Ahmad Shah (v app No 1) and of Alamgir II (v app Nos 5 and 6). The former resembles a sprig of a tree and is chiefly noticeable because it appears to be reproduced on the copper coins Nos 47 *a* and 49 *a* and *b* of the Appendix. This mark may however represent a glorified trisul and in any case it stands upright and not slantwise like the sprig. A comparison may be made with Wright I M C Vol III Mint mark No 94.

The mark on coins Nos 5 and 6 in the Appendix is not especially distinctive. It bears a close resemblance to that on British minted coins Appendix No 51 though the two marks differ in detail.

The next distinctive mark is the ankush of which our earliest specimen is Appendix No 2. It definitely replaces the sprig in the *sin* of *julūs*. Mention has been made of the evidence which leads us to believe that the ankush is purely a Maratha sign. It seems conclusive enough. Upon the origin of the sign light is thrown by the Hon ble Mr Justice Ranade in his article on currencies and mints under Maratha rule in J B B R A S Vol XX No LV. His remarks on page

199, the Ankushi rupee, so called on account of the ankush or elephant goad which it bore on the inscription, was issued by the Rastes from their mint at Vai." I do not know of any but the Ahmadabad rupees bearing the ankush. The quotation, if it refers to them, is doubly interesting. In any case, it provides another authority for the connection of the ankush mark on coin with the Marathas. Mr Ranade gives other relevant information on page 198 id. In the Peshwa's own mints Malharshahi rupees appear to have been the standard. They were called Malharshahi after Malharrao Bhucaji Raste as stated above. This Raste family was at first a great banking firm and Malharrao was the brother of Gopi Kalbhai, wife of Balaji Bajirao (Peshwa). When the Karnatic was conquered from the Nawab of Savanur the Rastes were appointed Subedars and Malharrao opened a mint at Bagalkot about 1753 A.D. 1753 A.D. 1169 A.H., is the date of the first Maratha occupation of Ahmadabad. It is quite probable that the Peshwa's general adopted the sign of the chief Maratha mint master for the new coinage both because he was chief mint master and because he was their ruler's brother in law. It is even just possible that the Ahmadabad coins were minted by Malharrao at Vai or Bagalkot but I do not consider this very likely. That the Rastes had a stake in Gujarat is shown by Grant Duff, *History of Marathas* Vol III page 386. One of the conditions of the Treaty of Poona of 1817 was that the Jagir of 'Madhu Rao Rastia' forfeited years before should be restored.

Whether it was the Rastes or others who were responsible for the introduction of the ankush mark into Gujarat the sign was continued right up to the date of the British occupation. In 1200 A.H. variations of the ankush are introduced. I can only account for these by supposing that they are private marks of mint masters. If so changes of head of staff must have been frequent. In 1215 A.H. the Peshwa leased Ahmadabad to the Gaikwar, and the latter was for the first time in independent occupation recognized by the Peshwa. About this time we see a corresponding change in the mint mark. We have the regular Maratha ankush with the addition of अ in Nagri, which obviously stands for अयकराज. This mark is with differentiations maintained in conjunction with the ankush almost continuously until the termination of the Gaikwar's lease in 1229 A.H. We should expect the symbol अ to have been added first in the year 1215 A.H. when the lease was made. But Nos. 32 and 33 App show that the change occurred in the year 30 A.H. No. 32 has the plain ankush and No. 33 the ankush with अ. The corresponding Hijri period is 1211—1212. The discrepancy need not, however, detain us for the ten or twelve years previous to 1215 the julūs year was allowed to fall one or two years behind the proper figure. For instance No. 26 should read 34 or 35—1207 instead of 33,

[N S]

and No 34 should read 42 or 43—1215 for 40—1215 The Hijri dates wanting on Nos 32 and 33 are more probably 1214 and 1215 than anything else

I have said above that the mark म was maintained *almost* continuously until 1229 A H The exceptions are Nos 38 and 39 App which bear the word म in the place of म The dates are 121 and 122, which seem to indicate 1219 and 1220 If this is so the connection of this change of mark with the termination and the renewal of the original four years' lease in 1219 A H is probable I have not been able however, to hit upon a plausible signification of म Can it be a disinclination to continue the use of म from the fear of the Peshwa thinking it presumption after the termination of the old lease? This coupled with a desire to give a hint to the inhabitants of Ahmadabad that the Peshwa had not actually resumed possession, as the replacement of the simple ankush might be held to show, may account for this curious variation Is it to boot a pious invocation of Rama to the end that Ahmadabad may remain under the Gaikwar's sway?

Whatever the inscription means the year 1220 Hijri marks a return to the old symbol which is continued in the year 50 of the reign of Shah Alam II A remarkable figure this as the Emperor died in the 49th year of his reign but it shows how careless was the Maratha at this period of the change of the name of his shadowy suzerain On the coin that bears the figure (No 41) the ankush has a small mark of differentiation due no doubt to the appointment of a new mint Daroga But later a return was made to academical exactitude The next coin (No 42) the first of Akbar's reign has the julus year to correspond with the Hijri date and further the correcter symbol म (i.e. म + the abbreviation sign) is used instead of म for the first syllable of the word मरकवा

In No 44 we note an additional sign which seems to read म Its meaning is obscure It is only possible to suggest it may stand for Khan which in Gujarati frequently is so spelt

The resumption of the lease of Ahmadabad from the Gaikwar is marked by the issue of No 46 without the sign म In its place is a sign like the spectacles on a cobra's hood Justice Ranade in the article referred to a few pages back makes no mention of this mark but it appears on a silver coin in my cabinet bearing the date 1244 in Maratha figures The coin bears a very close resemblance to the Maratha Chhatrapati (v Dr Abbott's article in J B B R A S, Vol XX, No LV) and its main lieu de provenance is Poona although my specimen was discovered in Ahmadabad These facts, it is true, do not throw much light upon the mark in question but are so far useful as to suggest that it denotes an issue of the Peshwa rather than of the Gaikwar

The ankush persists on this coin. It appears also on subsequent silver coins with the differentiation of two streamers attached until 1232—10. The "cobra's spectacles" are now absent.

Omitting for a moment mention of the copper coin of this epoch, we find No. 50 marking the restoration of Ahmadābād to the Gaikwār by the return to the simple ankush and the replacement of the symbol π . There is nothing in the date to contradict this view. In the first month of the next year 1233 A.H. Ahmadabad was formally transferred to the British Government and the coins henceforth issued bear nothing but a simple conventional rose in the sin of the *julūs*. This bears a very close resemblance to the mark on Nos. 5 and 6 and in fact is identical with it save that it is somewhat more coarsely delineated. The mark was evidently conceived by the British mint master as the most suitable one for the purpose. It suggests that the British are inheritors of the Mughal Empire and indicates the flower that is England's badge.

The mark on the copper coins, which, it is to be noticed, comprise both the *paisa* (*pice*) and the *pu* (*pie*) is not a conspicuous one and appears to be a mere ornament.

Henceforth the series proceeds more or less regularly to the year 1249 A.H. The *julūs* date is almost invariably incorrect. In 1242 A.H. a slight change of type appears. This has been already noticed.

From the fact that rupees and half rupees of certain dates are found missing, it is probable that no coins were minted of these dates. This does not mean that the mint stopped issuing coins, but that no trouble was taken to change the dies. The dates found are 1233, 1236, 1239, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1248 and 1249. Half rupees are listed in the Appendix of all these dates except 1239. It is possible that Nos. 55 and 58 are not of 1236 and 1241, but probably these years were on the die, as after the first two or three years of British occupation, not more than one regular year was ever ascribed to a *Hijri* date, so far as can be determined. And the existence of both rupees and half rupees of certain dates and the absence of both denominations of others certainly supports the view that the change of dates was made not regularly, but from time to time.

I have thought it wise not to break the thread of the argument by the notice of a striking coin which interrupts the series issued in the name of Shah 'Alam II. This is a coin minted by Bidār Bahān in 1203 A.H., and bearing a mint name which looks remarkably like Ahmadābād. The best specimen of which a plate has been made appears to be No. 2499 I.M.C. (Wright). There is a remote possibility that the mint name is not Ahmadābād but something else, e.g. Muhammadābād, for

[N S]

why Bidār Bakht should have shown Ahmadābād as a mint town and the only one besides the obvious Shāhjahānabad is far from clear. But whether the coin bears the name of Ahmadābād or not, I feel perfectly sure from the style of it that it was not minted very far from Shāhjahānābād. The type resembles too closely that of its immediate predecessor No 2498 of Bidār Bakht and its immediate successor No 2500 of Akbar II, for it to be possible that it is anything but a true Mughal coin. It cannot therefore have been actually coined in Ahmadābād, for as we have seen the Peshwa then in possession of the city was minting a series of coins of a particular stamp. The recognition of Shah Jahan III (v app No 8 and 9) is not on the same footing. In his case, the death of 'Ālamgir the second was accompanied by the actual proclamation of Shah Jahan as Emperor. Shah Ālam II, now reckoned as 'Ālamgir's successor by historians, was then in Bihār and remained there some little time before physically asserting his claim to the Imperial throne. It was therefore doubtful for a while which claimant would prevail, and it causes no surprise to find that the Emperor actually proclaimed at Dehli was the one recognized by the Marathas. The latter appear to have ceased coining for some years subsequent to 1175 A H¹ and the next coin known is dated A R 10 of Shah 'Ālam, by which date he had had ample time to become universally acknowledged as Emperor.

For the coin of Bidār Bakht I have referred to, we have I think, an exact parallel in Nādir Shah's issue of 1152 A H. It is well known that Nādir Shah had no connection with Gujarat. He conquered Dehli and imprisoned the Emperor. Watson (B G, page 322) says, "except that coin was struck in Nadir's name the collapse of Mughal power caused little change in Gujarat." It is probably just as true to say that the collapse of Mughal power caused no change in Gujarāt. Ahmadābad was in joint possession of the powerful Momin Khan and the Maratha Rangoji.² Neither of them was likely to recognize a foreign invader to the extent of striking coin in his name. Nadir Shah is said to have converted a portion of the plunder of Dehli into coin at Shāhjahānabad, and from the similarity of style of the Ahmadābad to the other pieces of the invader,

¹ Two coins have just (June 1913) come to hand one Shāh Ālam II A R 10 and the other A R 4, both with the plain ankush mark. The Marathas did not therefore cease coining as I have supposed, but either issued coins under the names of the two rival Emperors at once or antedated the Shah Ālam issue, when the claim of that Emperor was established. Vide last remark in Appendix.

² I venture here to differ from Dr Taylor (Coins of Ahmadābad J B R A S 1901) who is of opinion that Nadir's coin was struck at Ahmadābad. I do so with less diffidence as Dr Taylor has not advanced the possibility of the coins being struck elsewhere than at Ahmadābad.

probability seems to be on the side of the Ahmadabad as well as the coins with other "mint" names being all struck at one time in Dehli

It is a curious coincidence that Ghulam Qadir minted the coin for Bidar Bakht from his plunder of Shah 'Ālam's palace. The desire to assert a claim over a wealthy and important city like Ahmadabad which was nominally under Mughal rule, would appear to have been sufficient inducement for the striking of the coins referred to by Nadir Shah and Bidar Bakht.

I attach considerable importance to the differences of style of execution in the coins from the normal Ahmadabad type, as apart from these two exceptions, the Ahmadabad mint keeps to a uniform style for the century 1138 A H to 1237 A H and a few years after.

I cannot conclude this note without a word of thanks to Dr Taylor for his kind and generous help and warm encouragement in my efforts to throw a little light upon a hitherto uninvestigated period of Ahmadabad Numismatics.

It will be seen from the appendix that I am almost entirely dependent upon his cabinet for the description of the coins of the earlier part of my period. By affording me opportunities of access at all times to his cabinet and library as well as by actual research and communication of his numismatic experience he has rendered me most valuable assistance.

Surat, 1913

A MASTER

APPENDIX

COINS OF AHMADABAD 1165 AND AFTER

All coins silver unless otherwise stated

Imperer	A H	A R	Period within which struck Months in Roman figures	Mint Mark	REMARKS
I Almad Sijāl	1165	4	I V	☞	<i>The Marāṭ as occupy Almadabad</i>
	1166	6	VI		
I Alangir II	1169	2	I VII	☞	Copper fulus A R. 2 or 3 <i>Momin Khan captures Almadabad (nominally on behalf of I mīr) error</i> Date ca. 1160 as 1169 is A R. 2 and 3 <i>Momin Khan enters Ahmadabad</i>
M	1169	2	III		
M	1170	3	VIII XII	☞	
	1170	3	I		
T	1170	3	I VII	☞	Coin No. 1 is that in the I M C (Wright) and has A H 1170 which must be 1170 ad means that the mark is same as in previous No. <i>Momin Khan surrenders Ahmadabad to Marāṭ</i>
I	1171	4	1170 VIII 1171 VII		
I	1171	4	VI		
I I M C	1172	6	1172 VIII 1173 IV		

[N S]

23	M	29	I-IV	2d	as 21	Mark crowded out by smallness of flan
24	T	29	1201 V-1202 IV			
25	M	3-	I-XII			
26	M	33	1207			The whole of the left hand portion of the ankush is not visible, but has been filled in. The A R dates from this point become very erratic in this case 34 or 35 would be correct
27	M	3	1208			(The variations of the ankush seem to be annual)
28	M	35				
29	M	36				
30	M		1209			
31	M	37				Note the return to the simple ankush
32	M	39				
33	M	43	V			<i>I shwa lesses Ahmadabad to Gakwar</i>
34	M	39				The A R date is wrong as usual 39 may well refer to the latter part of 1214 or earlier part of 1215 when Gakwar turned Abu Solukar the Peshwa's governor out of Ahmadabad. Note that 39 A R is the year in which the change of mark occurs

[N S]

	1229	9	N		Lease terminated with Gaskwar over Almadabad
45 M	1230	8	॥ २०		A R should be 9 or 10 probably 9
46 T					
47 M		9	॥ १०	IX-1230 VII	
47a M		9	॥ १०		Fulus or paisā
48 IM	1231	10	॥ १०		rupee A R should be 11 or 12 but prob- ably 10
49 VI	1232	1	॥ १०		Fulus or paisā These marks are on the edge of the coin and not complete The complete mark is clearly ॥ Average
49a M	1231	10	॥ १०		weight 124 grs (Subsequently verified from other coins in my cabinet)
50 M	1232	10	॥ १०		Treaty of Poona signed Peshwa restores Ahmadabad to Gaskwar
	1232	11	॥ १०	VI	A H is in all probability 1230
	1232	11	॥ १०	1231 IX 1230 VIII	Agreement made by Gaskwar with British Government to land over Almadabad to latter
	1233			XII	Formal transfer of Ahmadabad to British Government
	1233	11	॥ १०	I	A R should be 12 or 13 probably a copy of Gaskwar's coin
51 M					

126 GUPTA GOLD COINS FOUND IN THE BALLIA DISTRICT

[With Plate II]

During the past few years a number of gold coins have been found by cultivators near a mound in the village of Kasarwan in the district Ballia. The fact having recently come to the notice of the district authorities seventeen of the coins have been recovered and sent to the Government of the United Provinces by whom they have been acquired for the Lucknow Museum.

All the coins are of the time of Samudra Gupta and are of the following types —

Aswamedha	3
Javelin variety α	10
Javelin variety γ	2
Battleaxe	1
Kacha	1

The classification adopted is that of Mr V. A. Smith in 'The Coinage of the early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty,' J. R. A. S. 1899.

AŚWAMEDHA

Obverse

1. Horse standing, left facing a pole. The horse has a band or collar with a boss on the near shoulder. The pole is adorned with long streamers above and small streamers on each side. Below the horse. There is no pedestal and no sign of pavement.

Right margin *Rajadh raja*
princ

Left margin *svaj mah.*

Reverse

Female figure standing left on lotus holding fly-whisk over right shoulder. Post with small streamers on both sides of its base.

Legend *Aśwamedha parakramah*

A. 50 mm. 117 grs.

This coin differs in general appearance from the ordinary type of Aswamedha. The horse is shaped differently and the collar is more on the shoulder than the neck. The female figure on reverse is more attenuated than usual. I am unable to suggest an interpretation of the obverse legend which is distinctly $\overline{\text{H}}$ Σ E V —

Mr John Allan of the British Museum informs me that Dr Hoer I.C.S. retired has a similar coin the legend of which has not been read.

2. Horse as in the usual type. Low pedestal under it. Legend missing.

Female figure. The post has streamers on one side only as usual.

A. 50 mm. 119 grs (has been ringed)

This coin has apparently been struck from the same die as that figured as No 3, Plate XIV of the Indian Museum Catalogue

3 Similar to No 2, but with a higher pedestal under the "s" and legend *sa prithivim* in right margin

Similar to 2

AV 8 in, 120 grs (has been ringed)

JAVELIN, var a

These ten javelin coins are of the common variety, but they present a number of small differences in the arrangement of the legend the absence or presence of streamers to the standard and javelin and in the dress of the king

4 King left with javelin, altar and garuda standard as usual Samudra under left arm The javelin is adorned with streamers The standard has streamers and no staff

Right margin *Samara śata*

Left margin *vijayo* ;

Throned goddess and inscription *parākramah* as usual Mon No 8 of Plate XVIII of the Indian Museum Catalogue Above cornucopiae Δ The throne shows two legs only

AV 85 in 118 grs

5 Similar but with staff and no streamers to garuda standard

Right margin *Samara śata v*

Left margin *ta vijayo* ;

Similar but Mon No 9

AV 8 in, 117 grs

6 As No 5

Right margin *Samara śata vitata*

Left margin

As No 4 but Mon No 2 and mark No 47 of the same plate above cornucopiae

AV 8 in, 116 grs

7 As No 5 but with streamers neither to javelin nor standard The javelin head at base of coin is very clearly shown

Right margin *Samara śata*

ut

Left margin *vijayo* ;

As No 4 but the throne shows four legs and a back Mon No 9 and no mark over cornucopiae

AV 8 in, 120 grs (has been ringed)

8 As No 4 but with long staff and no streamers to garuda standard and a crescent above The ring does not show the usual long ear-rings but has a headress covering the ears

As No 4 but the throne shows three legs and has a back Mon No 29

Right margin *Samara śata*

vt

Left margin *tar*

N 8 in., 115 grs. (has been ringed)

9 As No. 4, but with long staff and no streamers to standard

As No 4, but the throne shows four legs. Mon No 2 and no mark over cornucopias

Right margin *Samara śata*
śata v

Left margin *yo śtari puro*
ru (?)

There is apparently a *t* above the garuda, which does not fit in any known legend

N 8 in, 117 grs.

10 As No 4, but with long staff to standard and the king wears a long coat coming down almost to his knees in front.

As No 4, but with mark *Λ* over cornucopias and a back to the throne

Right margin *Samara śata*
śata.

Left margin *śtari*

N 85 in, 117 grs

11 As No 4, but no streamers to standard and with the marginal legend beginning on the opposite margin

As No 4, but Mon. No. 29

Left margin *mara śata śta*

Right margin *ta śtayo t*

V 85 in, 117 grs

12 As No 5, but with legend arranged as No 11 Javelin head shown distinctly

As No 4, but throne shows four legs and Mon is No 29

Left margin *mara śata śata*
śtayo

Right margin

N 8 in., 118 grs.

13 As No. 12, but with long staff to standard.

As No 12.

Left margin *Samara śata*

Right margin *śata śtayo*

There is space for several letters and apparently the remains of one immediately before *śtayo*.

N 85 in, 116 grs

JAVELIN, var γ

14 Usual type of standing king with javelin at altar. Short staff to standard. No streamers to staff of standard or javelin. Crescent or tail of a letter over the garuda.

Samudra to left of javelin.

Gupta to right of javelin.

Left margin *ara sata*

Right margin *tata vijay*

Usual throned goddess. Throne shows two legs and a back. Mark Δ over cornucopiae. Mon No 2.

N 8 in, 117 grs

15 As No 14

Left margin *Samara sata utata*

Right margin

As No 14 but no mark over cornucopiae

N 75 in, 115 grs

On 14 and 15 both in name and inscription the m takes the form π instead of χ as in variety ϵ .

BATTLE-AXE

16 King left grasping battle-axe in left hand. Right hand on hip. Wearing a dagger on left side. Small male figure and crescent-headed standard on left between the two figures. *Samudra* under left arm. Marginal legend fragmentary.

Goddess on four-legged throne with cornucopiae. The footstool is not the lotus as figured in J R A S 1889 Plate I No 11, but is more like that of the javelin type, Mon No 2. No mark over cornucopiae. Legend which follows the margin is as usual *kr̥itānta parasu*.

N 75 in, 117 grs

The king also wears a dagger in the specimen figured in the Indian Museum Catalogue and apparently also in the one figured by Mr Burn in 'A Hind of Gupta Gold Coins', Numismatic Chronicle, Fourth Series Vol X. The coins figured by Mr V A Smith in his 'Coinage of the early or Imperial Gupta Coinage' show no dagger.

KACHA

17 Usual type of king at altar with solar standard. *Kacha* under left arm.

Left margin *Karmabhir atta*

Right margin

Standing goddess with inscription *Sarvarājoch-chettā* as usual.

Mon 

N 8 in, 119 grs (has been ringed)

W E M CAMPBELL.

127 LIST COMPLEMENTARY TO MR WHITEHEAD'S "MINT TOWNS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS OF INDIA"

Since the publication in 1908 of Mr Nelson Wright's Volume III of the 'Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum', with its invaluable introduction, no more important contribution has been made to Indian Numismatics, and none could be more welcome than the list, recently issued by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of the Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India". By the preparation of this list Mr Whitehead has laid all coin collectors in this country under a deep debt of obligation, for evidently he has spared no pains to ensure that it should be as complete and accurate a list as possible. The material to be explored in order to the production of so extensive a Coin Register, running as it does into a hundred pages, was sufficiently formidable, but Mr Whitehead has fulfilled his self appointed task with admirable courage and patience.

The entries, as now arranged, reveal, and at a single glance, for each mint the metals, gold or silver or copper, in which coins were struck by each of the Emperors and also indicate some one cabinet in which a specimen of each coin registered is to be found to-day.

The list of twenty seven Emperors (claimants included) is noteworthy as containing for the first time the name of Azimu sh shan, son of Shah Alam Bahadur and father of Farrukh siyar and all who have read Mr Whitehead's convincing article No 103) in Numismatic Supplement No XX will I am confident, approve of the inclusion of this name. On the other hand the name of Niku siyar no longer has a place in the list, and, inasmuch as no coin of his is known, the omission is, for the present at least free from objection. A fortunate 'find' however may some day warrant the re-insertion of Niku siyar's name, for Khafi Khan in his Muntakh abu'l Lubab definitely states: His accession was announced by peals of cannon and coins of gold and silver were struck in his name.

The order adopted in the list of the Emperors is unusual, and will, I fear, fail to win absolute approval. No 9 Murad Bakhsh and No 10 Shah Shuja should surely come before No 8 Aurangzeb 'Alamgir rather than before No 11 Shah Alam Bahadur. Similarly both No 12 Azam Shah and No 13 Kam Bakhsh should precede, not follow No 11 Shah Alam Bahadur. Also, even though the 'Azimu sh shan rupee was in all probability struck by Farrukh siyar's orders, it should, chronologically considered, stand before rather than after Jahandar's coins, and hence in the list Nos 14 and 15

[NS]

might with advantage change places. Then the Mints, too Sitpūr and Silakul, should come after Sahrind instead of after Shergarh.

In the coin entries I have noticed only one serious omission. The well known coins struck both in silver and in copper by Muḥid Bakhsh at the Surat mint have been overlooked. I would, accordingly, suggest that B M be inserted in the A column and I (Roman numeral) in the E column.

On the coins Muṣṭafa-abid is written *مستفعا* with *ط*, not with *و*. Bahadurpattān, Chmāpattān, and Machhlipattān should all of them when transliterated, have a 'double t,' also Ujjain a 'double j,' unless the immediately preceding vowel be lengthened.

Mr Whitehead's list shows for each mint the reigns during which it was active. It hence became a very simple matter to prepare a Complementary List that should exhibit for each reign its active mints and their metals. I have pleasure in now supplying such a list, in the hope that it too may at times prove of use to my fellow coin collectors.

G P TAYLOR

List exhibiting for each Reign its active Mints and their Metals

Emperor	MINT		
	A	B	E
1 BABUR Total number of Mints 7 of these the Mints issuing coins— in gold were nil in silver were 7 and in copper were 1		Urdu Āgra Patta Jaunpur Kābul Lahor Lakhnau	Āgra
2 HUMAYUN Total 9 Gold nil Silver Copper 7		Ujjain Āgra Champanir Dehli Qandahar Kabul Lahor	Āgra Jaunpur Champanir Dehli Qandahar Lahor Mandu
3 AKBAR Total 78			Atak Banaras Ajmer

Emperor		MINT		
		A	R	L
Gold 18				Ajmer Sal mabad
Silver 39			Ujjain	Ujja n
Copper 60.	Ahmadabad	Yhmadabad	Ahmadnagar	Ahmadabad
	Uda pur			
	Urdu	Urdu		
	Urdu zafar	Urdu Z Q		Urdu Z Q
	qarin			
	Asir			Akbarpur
	Akbarnagar	Akbarpur Tanda		Akbarpur Tanda
	Acra	Akbarnagar		Akbarnagar
		Agra		Agra
		Alwar		Alwar
		Ilahabad		Ilahabas
				Amirkot
				Khita Awadl
		El chpur		
		Bālapur		
		Bāndhu		
	Burhanpur	Burhanpur		Budson
				Burhanpur
		Bangala		Bandar Shaha
		Bhakkar		Bahraich
		Barrata		Bhakkar
	Pattan	Pattan		Barrata
	Patna	Patna		Pattan
		Tatta		Patna
	Jaunpur	Jaunpur		Ja alpur
		Chunar		Jalsnagar
				Ja unpur
	Hajipur			Chunar
		H sar		Ch tor
		H sar Firoza		H sar
				H sar Firoza
				Khairabad
				Khairpur
				Dogaon
	Dehl	Dehli		Dehl
		Dawal Bandar		
		Drinagar		Sronj
				S inagar
				ahmadabad
		Surat ()		Sambhal
	Sahrind			Saharanpur
				Sahrind
				Shahparh Qanaui
				S arpur

Emperor.	MINT		
	N	R	L.
4 JAHĀNGIR Total 30 Gold 14. Silver 27 Copper 9	Fathpūr	Shergarh Sitpūr Fathpūr Kābul Kālpī	Fathpūr Kābul Kālpī
	Kashmir		Kalānūr Korā Kiratpūr
		Gadraula	Gwākhār Gobindpūr Gorakpūr Gohad Lāhor Lakhnau
	Lāhor	Lāhor	
	Mālpūr	Lahri Bandar Mālpur	Mālpūr Mūnikpūr Mānghar Madan Kot Mūltān Mirtha Nārnoī
		Mūltān	
		Nārnoī	
	Ajmer	Ajmer Ujjain	Ajmer
	Ahmadābād Ahmadnagar	Ahmadabād Ahmadnagar	Ahmadābād Ahmadnagar Udaipur
	Urdū	Urdū dar rahī dakhān	
	Āgra	Akbarnagar Āgra Ishabād Eheli pūr	Āgra
	Burhānpūr	Burhānpūr Bairāta	Bairāta
	Patna	Patna Panjnagar Tatta Jālnapūr Jaler	
	Jahāngirnagar Dehli	Jahāngirnagar Dehli Ruhtās Sūrat Zafarnagar	Dehli Sūrat
	Fathpūr Qandahar	Fathpūr Qandahār Kābul Katak	Kābul

Emperor	MINT.		
	N	R	Æ
	Kābul	Kābul	
	Kashmīr	Katak	Kashmīr
	Kambāyat	Kashmīr	
	Gulkanda	Kambāyat	
	Lāhor	Gulkanda	
	Lakhnau	Lāhor	
	Multan	Lakhnau	Lakhnau
		Multan	Nārnoī
8. AURANGZEB	Itāwa	Itāwa	
ĀLAMGĪR	Ajmer	Ajmer	
Total 72	Ujjain	Ujjain	Ujjain
Gold 40	Ahsanābād	Ahsanābād	
Silver 70	Ahmadābad	Ahmadābād	Ahmadābād
Copper 24	Ahmadnagar	Ahmadnagar	
	Islāmābād	Adonī	
		Islāmābād	
		Islām Bandar	
	Akbarābād	Azamnagar	A'zamnagar
	Akbarnagar	Akbarābād	Akbarābād
	Ilahābād	Akbarnagar	Akbarnagar
		Ilahābād	
		Imtiyāzgarh	
	Aurangābād	Aurangābād	Aurangābād
		Elīchpūr	Elīchpūr
	Burhānpūr	Burhānpūr	Burhānpūr
		Bareilly	
		Bankāpūr	
		Bhakkar	
		Bhīla	
	Bijāpūr	Bijāpūr	Bijāpūr
			Bairāta
	Patna	Patna	
		Purbandar	
		Pūnch	
		Peshawar	
	Tatta	Tatta	
	Toragal	Toragal	
		Unjī	
	Jaunpūr	Jaunpūr	
		Jūnagarh	
	Jahāngīrnagar	Jahāngīrnagar	
	Chīnāpattan	Chīnāpattan	
	Haidarābād	Haidarābād	Haidarābād
	Khujista Bunyād	Khujista Bunyād	
		Khairnagar	
		Ranthor	
		Sāmbhar	
	Sūrat	Sūrat	Sūrat
		Sahāranpūr	
		Sahrūd	

Emperor	MINT		
	V	R	L
	Shāhjahānabad	Shāhjahānabad	Shahjahanābād
	Sholapur	Sholapur	Sholapur
	Zafarabad	Zafarabad	
	Zafapur	Zafapur	
	Alamgirpur	Alamgirpur	
	Azamabad	Azamabad	Azamabad
	Kabul	Kabul	Kabul
	Katak	Katak	Katak
		Karwa	
		Karimabad	
	Kashmir	Kashmir	
	Kambayat	Kambayat	
	Gulbarga	Gulbarga	Gulbarga
	Gulshanda	Gulshanda	
		Gwalior	
		Cuttack	
	Lahor	Lahor	Lahor
		Lakhnau	Lakhnau
		Machhlipattan	Machhlipattan
	Muhammadabad	Muhammadabad	
		Mahmud Bazar	
		Mahmudabad	
		Muradabad	
	Murshidabad	Murshidabad	
		Muzaffarnagar	
	Multan	Multan	Multan
	Maharaja		
		Malpur	Malpur
		Narnol	Narnol
	Nuratabad	Nuratabad	
9 MURAD	Ahmadabad	Ahmadabad	
BAKHSH			
Total	3		
Gold	2		
Silver	3		
Copper	1		
10. SHAH		Akbaragar	
SHUJA			
Total	1		
Gold	nil		
Silver	1		
Copper	nil		
11. SHAH AJAM	Itawa	Itawa	
BAHADUR		Ajmer	
Total	51	Ujjain	
Gold	19	Ahmadabad	Ahmadabad
Silver	49	Ahmadnagar	Ahmadnagar
Copper	12	Arkat	

Emperor	MINT		
	A	R	E
	Akbarābād	Akbarābād Akbarnagar Ilahābād Imtiyāzgarh Ausā Ellichpūr Burhānpūr Bareilly Bankāpur Bahādurgarh Bijāpūr Purbandar	Akbarnagar Ellichpūr Bijāpūr
	Burhānpūr	Burhānpūr	
	Peshāwar	Peshāwar	
	Tatta	Tatta	
	Toragal	Toragal Jūnagarh Jahāngirnagar Chināpattan	Jahāngirnagar
	Haiderābād	Haiderābād	Haiderābād
	Khujista Bunyād	Khujista Bunyād	
	Sūrat	Sūrat Sahrind Shāhjahānābād Sholāpūr	Sūrat Shāhjahānābād Sholāpūr
	Shāhjahānābād	Shāhjahānābād	
	Sikākul	Sikākul	
	‘Azīmābād	‘Azīmābād	
	Firozgarh	Firozgarh Firoznagar Kābul Karīmābād Kashmir Kambāyat Gūti Lāhor Lakhnau	Kambāyat
	Kambāyat	Kambāyat	
	Lāhor	Lāhor	
	Muhammādābād	Muhammādābād Murādābād Murshidābād Multan Mailāpur Narnol Nusratābād	Machhlipattan
	Multan	Multan	
	Mailāpur	Mailāpur	
		Narnol	
		Nusratābād	
12. A‘ZAM SHĀH		Ujjain	
Total	6	Ahmadābād	
Gold	7	Ahmadnagar	
Silver	6	Burhānpur	
Copper	nil	Khujista Bunyād Sūrat	

Emperor	MINI		
	A	R	E
13 KĀM BUKHSH		Ahsanābād	
Total 7		Bijāpūr	
Gold 1		Torazal	
Silver 7	Handarābād	Handarābād	
Copper nil.		Gulbarga	
		Gokulgarh (S India)	
		Nusratabād	
14 JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH	Iti wa	Itāwā	
Total 33		Ajmer	
Gold 9		Ujjain	
Silver 30		Ahmadābād	Ahmadābād
Copper 4		Ahmadnagar	
		Arkāt	
	Akbarābād	Akbarābād	
		Akbarpūr	
		Akbarnagar	
		El chpūr	
	Burhānpūr	Burhānpūr	
		Bareilly	
		Bahādurgarh	
		Bhakkhar	
		Bijavūr	Bijapūr
		Peshāwar	
		Tatta	
		Handarabād	
	Khujista Bunyād	Khujista Bunyād	
	Sūrat	Sūrat	Sūrat
		Sahrind	
	Shāhjahānābād	Shāhjahānābād	
		Fathābād Dharūr	
			Kabul
		Karārabad	
		Kambāyat	
	Gulbarga		
	Gwāliār	Gwāliār	
		Lāhor	
		Lakhnau	
		Murhidābād	
	Mu'azzamābād	Multān	
15 'AZIMU-SH SHĀH		Jahāngirnagar	
Total 1			
Gold nil.			
Silver 1			
Copper nil			

Emperor	MINT		
	A	R	Æ
16 FARRUKH SIYAR	Itāwā	Itāwā	
Total . 57	Ajmer	Ajmer	
Gold . 28	Ujjain	Ujjain	
Silver . 50		Ahmadābād	Ahmadābād
Copper . 8		Ahmadnagar	Ahmadnagar
	Arkāt	Arkāt	
	Islāmābad	Islāmābad	
		Azamnagar	
		Azamnagar Go	
		kulgarh	
	Akbarābād	Akbarābād	Akbarābād
		Akbarnagar	
	Ilahābād	Ilahābād	
	Imtiyāzgarh	Imtiyāzgarh	
		Aurangnagar	
		Ellichpūr	
	Burhānpūr	Burhānpūr	
	Barah	Barah	
		Bankāpūr	
		Rahādurgarh	
		Bhakkor	
	Bijāpur		Bijāpur
	Patna		
	Purbandar	Purbandar	
	Peshawar	Peshāwar	
		Tatta	
		Toragel	
		Jūnagarh	
		Jahāngirnagar	
		Chunepattan	
	Haiderābād	Haiderābād	
	Khujista Bunyād	Khujista Bunyād	
		Šironj	
		Sadnagar	
	Sūrat	Sūrat	Sūrat
	Sahrind	Sahrind	
	Shahjahānābad	Shahjahānābad	
	Sikakul		Sholāpūr
		‘Ālamgīrpūr	
	‘Azīmābād	‘Azīmābād	
		Fathābād Dhair	
		Farrukhābād	
		Kabul	Kābul
		Katak	
		Ka Arabād	
	Kashmir	Kambāyat	
		Gulshanābad	
		Gwāhār	
	Gōti	Lāhor	
	Lāhor	Lakhnau	

Emperor.	MINT		
	A	B	C.
	Machhlipattan Murahidābād Mu'azzamābād Multān	Machhlipattan Murahidābād Multān Mumbai	Machhlipattan
17. RAFI'U-D- DARJĀT		Itāwā	
Total . 22		Ajmer	
Gold : 10.		Ujjain	
Silver 20	Ahmadābād	Ahmadābād	
Copper . 1	Akbarābād	Akbarābād Burbhānpūr Bareilly Patna	
	Peshāwar		
	Khujista Bunyād	Khujista Bunyād	
	Surat	Surat	Surat
	Shāhjahānābād	Sahrind	
	Kābul	Shāhjahānābād Kābul Korā Kambāyat Gwalār	
	Lāhor	Lāhor Lakhnau Murahidābād	
	Mu'azzamābād		
	Multān	Multān	
18. RAFI'U D- DAULA (SHĀH JAHĀN II)		Itāwā Ajmer	
Total : 25	Ujjain		
Gold . 9		Ahmadābād	
Silver 22.	Arkāt	Islāmābād	
Copper 2	Akbarābād	Akbarābād	Akbarābād
	Burbhānpūr	Burbhānpūr Bareilly Tatta Jūnagarh	
	Haidarābād		
	Khujista Bunyād	Khujista Bunyād	
	Surat	Surat	Surat
	Shāhjahānābād	Sahrind Shāhjahānābād Ahmadābād Korā Kambāyat Gwalār	

Emperor	MINT		
	N	R	A.
	Lāhor	Lahor Lahnau Murshidābād Multān Mumbai	
19 MUHAMMAD IBRĀHIM	Shāhjahanābād	Shahjahanābad	
Total 1			
Gold 1			
Silver 1			
Copper nil			
20 MUHAMMAD SHĀH	Itāwā	Itāwa	
Total 61		Atak	
Gold 30		Ajmer	
Silver 50	Ujjain	Ujjain	
Copper 10	Ahmadabād	Ahmadabād	Ahmadābād
	Arkāt	Arkāt	
	Islāmābād	Islāmabād	
		Azamnagar Go- kulgarh	
	Akbarabad	Akbarabād	
		Akbarnagar	
	Ilahābād	Ilahabād	
	Imtiyāzgarh		
	Akhtarnagar	Akhtarnagar	
	Awadh	Awadh	
	Aurangābād		
		Ausā	
	Bālāpūr	Elchpūr	Elchpūr
	Burhānpūr	Burhānpur	
		Bareilly	
		Balwantnagar	
	Banāras (Muh)	Banaras (Muh)	
		Bhaktar	Bhakter
		Purbandar	
Peshawar		Peshāwar	
Tatta		Tatta	
		Junagarh	
		Jahangirnagar	
Jampur		ajpūr	
		Chināpattan	
			Hāfizābad
Haiderabad		Haiderabad	
Khujistā Bunyād		Khujista Bunyād	
		Derajāt	
		Zainul bilād	
		Satārā	
		Sironj	

Emperor	MINT		
	A	B	C
	Sind		
	Surat	Surat	Surat
	Sahrind	Sahrind	
	Shahabād	Shahābād Qanauj	
	Qanauj		
	Shāhjahānābād	Shahjahānābād	Shāh jahānābād
		Sholajpur	
		‘Alamgarpur	
	Azīmābād	Azīmābād	
	Farrukhābād	Farrukhābād	
		Firoznagar	
		Qamarnagar	
		Qandahar (S India)	
	Kabul	Kabul	Kabul
	Katak	Katak	
	Kashmir	Kashmir	Kashmir
	Korā	Korā	
		Kambayat	
	Gwāliar	Gwāliar	
	Lalor	Lalor	
		Lakhnau	
	Machhlipattan	Machhlipattan	Machhlipattan
	Murshidabad	Murshidabad	
	Muazzamabad	Muazzamabad	
	Multan	Multan	Multan
		Miramba	
21 AHMAD	Itawā	Itawā	
SHĀH		Ajmer	
BAHĀDUR			
Total 45		Ahmadabad	
Gold 15		Arkat	
Silver 42	Islamabad	Islamabad	
Copper 2	Akbarabad	Akbarabad	
		Akbarnagar	
		Ilahabad	
		Imtiazgroph	
	Burhanpur	Burhanpur	Elichpur
		Bareilly	
		Balwantnagar	
	Banāras (Muh)	Banaras (Muh)	
		Bhakkar	
			Peshawar
		Toragal	
		Jodhpur	
		Jahangirnagar	
Jampur	Jampur	Jampur	
		Khujista Bunyad	
Dera	Dera	Dera	
Derajat	Derajat	Derajat	
		Surat	

Emperor	MINT.		
	Δ	Р	Æ
	Sahrind Shāhjahānābād 'Aẓīmābād Farrukhābād Lāhor Mujāhidābad Multān	Sahrind Shāhābād Qanauj Shāhjahānābād Sikākul 'Aẓīmābād Farrukhābād Kālpi Katak Kashmir Korā Kambāyat Gwālhār Lāhor Machhlipattan Murādābād Murshidābād Multān Mumbai Mahindrapūr Varwar	
22 'ĀLAMGĪR II Total 52 Gold 10 Silver 50 Copper 6	Itawā Arkāt Islāmābād Akbarābad Imtiyāzgarh Bareli Banāras (Muh) Jaipūr	(tawā Ajmer Ujjain Ahmadābād Arkāt Islāmābād Akbarābād Akbarnagar Ilahābād Imtiyāzgarh Aurangnagar Ausa Etichpūr Buthanpūr Bareil Bikānir Balwantnagar Banāras (Muh) Bharoch Jodhpūr Jahāngirnagar Jaipūr Jhujista Bunyad Dilshadābad Dera Sironj Sūrat	Hāfizābād

Emperor.	MINT.		
	N	M	Æ
	Sahrind	Sahrind	
	Shāhjahānābād	Shēhābād Qanauj Shāhjahānābād Zafarābād ‘Azīmābād Farrukhābād Farrukhābād (Ahmadnagar)	Shāhjahānābād
	Kābul Kālpī Kashmīr Kalkatta		
	Korā	Kambāyat Gwāhār	
	Lāhor	Lāhor Machhlipattan Murādābād Murshidābād	Lāhor Machhlipattan
	Multān	Multān	
	Mahindrapūr	Mombai Mahindrapūr Nāgor	Mahindrapūr
	Najībābād	Najībābād Narwar	Najībābād
23 SHĀH JAHĀN III		Ahmadābād	
Total · 9	Islāmābād		
Gold · 5		Akbarābād Sūrat	
Silver · 8		Shāhābād Qanauj	
Copper · nil	Shāhjahānābād ‘Azīmābād Farrukhābād (Ahmadnagar) Mahindrapūr	Shāhjahānābād ‘Azīmābād Farrukhābād (Ahmadnagar) Mahindrapūr	
24 SHĀH ‘ĀLAM II		Itāwā	
Total · 87.	Ajmer	Ajmer	
Gold · 19.		Ujjain	
Silver · 75		Ahmadābād	Ahmadābād
Copper · 35.	Islāmābād	Arkāt	Arkāt
	Akbarābād	Islāmābād Isma‘ilgarh Akbarābād	Islāmābād Isma‘ilgarh Akbarābād
		Itāwābād Anūpnagar Shā- hābād	Akbarpūr
	Awadh Śūba		

Emperor	MINT		
	A	R	Æ
		Orchha Aurangnagar Anwala	Orchha
		Bālānagarzadhā Braj Indrapūr	Etchpūr
Burhānpūr		Baroda Burhānpūr Bareilly Bareilly Āsafābād Bisanli	Baroda Burhānpūr Bareilly
Banāras (Muh)		Balwantnagar Banāras (Muh)	Banāras (Muh) Bindraban
Bahādurpattan		Bindrabau Mū minābād	
		Bharatpūr Bhopāl Pānīpat Jammūn Jodhpūr	Bharatpūr
Jaipūr		Jahāngīrnagar Jaipūr Chhatarpūr	Jhansi Jaipūr
		Hasanābād	Chhachraul Hasanābād Dādar Dāmli Dilshadābād Daulatabād
		Dil hādābād Daulatabād Deogarh Ravishnagar Sāgar	
Sūrat		Sironj Srinagar (in Garh wal)	
		Sūrat Saharanpūr Shāhabad Qanauj Shahjahānābād	Sahāranpūr Shahjahānābād
Shājahānābād Zafarabād Azimabad		Azīnābād Farrukhābād Farrukhābād (Ahmadnagar)	
Farrukhābād (Ahmadnagar)		Feroznagar Kālpī Katak	Farrukhnagar Kānān

Appendix showing for each reign the total number of Mints known to have been working, also showing how many of these Mints issued coins in Gold, how many in Silver, and how many in Copper

Emperor	Total	₹	Rs	₹
1 Babur	7		7	1
2 Humayūn	9		7	7
3 Akbar	75	18	39	60
4 Jahangir	30	14	27	95
5 Jahangir and Nūr Jahān	5	3	6	
6 Dāwar Bakhsh	1		1	
7 Shah Jahan I	41	23	35	15
8 Aurangzeb Alamgir	72	40	70	24
9 Murad Baksh	3	2	3	1
10 Shah Shujā	1		1	
11 Shāh Alam Bahadur	51	19	49	12
12 Azam Shāh	1	3	6	
13 Kam Baksh	1	1	7	
14 Jahandar Shah	33	9	30	4
15 Azimushshān	1		1	
16 Farrukhsiyar	57	28	50	8
17 Rafi ud darjāt	22	10	20	1
18 Rafi ud-daula Shah Jahān II	5	9	2	2
19 Muhammad Ibrahim	1	1	1	
20 Muhammad Shah	61	35	56	10
21 Ahmad Shah Bahadur	45	15	42	2
22 Alamgir II	52	16	50	6
23 Shah Jahan III	9	5	8	
24 Shāh Alam II	87	19	75	3
25 Bedar Bakht	2	2	2	1
26 Akbar II	1	1	1	
27 Bahādur II	1		1	1

128 NEPALESE WAR MEDALS

[With Plate II]

I recently received in a parcel of coins from Katmandu the following medals which possibly have not been published —

- 1 *Obverse* A small shield with four bosses surrounded by the inscription 'Sri 3 Maharaja Jang Bahadur Rajdal Paltan'

Reverse A trisul formed of the sword (khadg) and skull necklace (mundmal) of Kali surrounded by the inscription "1912 sal ma Gurkha Sarkar bata Bhot futeh"

- 2 *Obverse* As No 1 but "Chhass Kamini Paltan"

Reverse as before

- 3 *Obverse* As No 1 but "Kali Bahadur paltan"

Reverse as before

The campaign against Tibet was undertaken by Maharaja Sir Jang Bahadur in the spring of 1855 ostensibly only to obtain redress for continuous outrages on Nepalese traders but really also to recover territory to the south of the trade centres of Kerang and Kuti, which it was alleged the Chinese had taken from Nepal in former times.

After some hard fighting the Tibetans were forced to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded on the 24th March, 1856. Prisoners were exchanged, the trade and other grievances of Nepal were redressed, and Tibet agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs 10,000 but ceded no territory. Nepal had found that to insist on the cession of territory would embroil her with China whose suzerainty both countries recognized in the treaty.

According to the life of the Maharaja written by his son General Padma Jang Bahadur, Jang Bahadur held a review of the victorious troops on the 20th April 1856, and granted two months' leave to each soldier and officer. On their return to duty medals and rewards were bestowed.

The pieces described show that different medals were struck for each regiment. The regiments named still exist in the Nepalese army. The "Rajdal" is "The King's Own", the other two are named after their patron goddesses.

W E M CAMPBELL

129 ON TWO FINDS OF BAHMANI COINS

I recently examined for the Central Provinces Government two finds of Bahmani copper coins from the Bhandara District, one consisting of 196, and the other of 100 coins. In the former only ten coins were indecipherable, of the remaining 186, 184 were of the reign of Ahmad Shah II and of no particular interest. One new date 839 AH for IVC No 29 was among them. The remaining two coins were, curiously enough of Nizam Shah—one dated 867 was Codrington Num Chron 1898 No 2, and the other was Codrington No 4.

The find of 600 coins was more interesting but in far worse preservation, the coins being largely corroded together. Two hundred and six were quite worthless. Among the remainder were examples of all the Bahmani kings from Ahmad Shah I to Kalimullah, with the exception of three whose coins are probably unknown. The coins must therefore have been concealed in the troublous times when the last Bahmani was a puppet in the hands of Amir Barid, who shortly afterwards assumed the sovereignty of Bidar. The different kings are represented as follows: Ahmad Shah I (2), Ahmad Shah II (102), Humayun Shah (25), Nizam Shah (1), Muhammad II (99), Mahmud II (127), Waliullah (5), Kalimullah (31), doubtful (2). No new types



OBV.



REV.



8. OBV.



9. OBV.



10. OBV.



OBV.



REV.



17. REV.



1. OBV.



2. OBV.



3. OBV.



4. REV.

I GUPTA GOLD COINS ART 126

II. NEPALESE WAR MEDALS. ART. 128

were among these, but the following appear to be unrecorded dates —Muhammad Shah bin Humayūn (B M C No 474)—869 and 870 (1st size) for the second size of the same 877, and Kalim ullah (F J Thanawala Num Supp No XI, No 12)—933. The coins of Kalim ullah and Wali ullah were in particularly good preservation. The coins have been distributed among the various Indian Museums.

C J BROWN

130 ON FOUR RARE MUGHAL COINS

[With Plate VII]

1 Shah 'Alam Bahadur

R		Obverse
Mint	A zamnagar	عارى
Date	———— 4 R	دس —————
Wt	173	را عالم بهادر
S	9د	دس —————

Reverse

مالوس

سندھ

سندھ

جلوس ام اعظم نگر

————— مصر LUCKNOW MUSEUM

This is the first A zamnagar coin published of Bahadur. It conforms to the type of rupees of Aurangzeb and Farrukh siyar of this mint with the exception of the last line on the reverse which is quite unlike that on the Aurangzeb coin published by Mr Whitehead (Num Suppl xv 89, No 10) or the Farrukhsiyar rupee published by Dr Taylor (N S xiv 84, No 11). For the latter coin Dr Taylor suggests Gokulgarh and this reading is supported by No 3 in this article. But in the present coin I see no resemblance to this name. The figure ۴, though indistinct in the cast can be read without difficulty on the coin. The provenance of the coin was Larkhan District, Sind, and was acquired in 1912.

2. A'zam Shāh.

R

Obverse.

Mint Dāru-l fath Ūjain عمالک اعظم شاه

Date ——— ahd ۱۰۰۰ ——— ش

Wt. 174 بدولت و حاکم باد

S 95 مکه ——— م

زد در جهان

Reverse

جلوس اشرف

————— ق

سده احد

————— صر

دار الغنم اوجین LUCKNOW MUSEUM

This unique coin has I believe never been published before

3. Farrukh-siyar

R

Obverse.

Mint A'zamnagar نورو نورج سیر

Date ——— 6 R. ۱۰۰۰ ——— ش

Wt. 176 حق نور سیم و زر باد

S. 95 مکه ——— م

مکه زد ار

Reverse.

مانوس

میمنت

سده

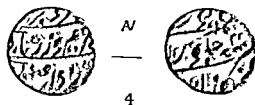
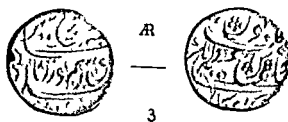
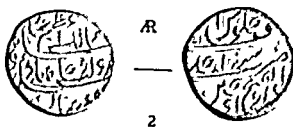
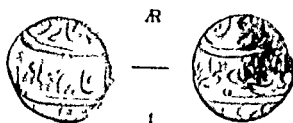
جلوس اعظم نورو

————— صر

لوکل ر

LUCKNOW MUSEUM

I publish this coin because in the first place it seems to confirm Dr Taylor's conjecture Gokulzari for the last line of



[N 5]

the reverse and also because of the two dots under هم in which alone it differs from Dr Taylor's specimen and that in the B M No 936 thus I think must be a die cutter's error A'zim is an impossible form and the only other possible suggestion is that the long stroke is not the ب of صرب but a ب and part of the mint name but this again is unlikely This coin came from the Bijapur District and was acquired by the Museum in 1907

4 1 wrukḥ siṛṇi

V		Obverse.
Mint	Firozgarh	بکروبر [فرج سمر]
Date	— 3 R	۳
Wt	169	برسدم ورز ناد
S	8	۸
		رد از فصل [حق]

Reverse

مانوس
 ممد
 سده ۳ خلوس
 سر
 ودرور گره

Gold and silver coins of this mint of Bahadur are in the Lahore Museum and were published by Mr Whitehead in Num Suppl XV 89, Nos 20 21 No coins of any other Emperor are recorded

The casts of coins for this article were kindly made for me by Babu Prayag Dyal of the Lucknow Museum.

C J BROWN

131 SILVER COINS OF THE CHANDELLA MADANAVARMAN

In September last a find consisting of 48 silver coins was found in a village named Panwar of the Teonthal Tahsil of the Rewah State It consisted of 8 large and 40 small silver coins of Madanavarman of the Chandella dynasty Gold coins of Madanavarman are fairly well known One copper and two gold coins were described by General Cunningham The

27 NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XXIII.

Note.—The numeration of the article below is continued from p. 200 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1914

132 AN UNISSUED RUPEE OF EDWARD-VII.

It gives me pleasure to submit the following description of a noteworthy rupee which I have had an opportunity of seeing. It is of standard weight and diameter and with straight milling.

Obverse Broad rim with inner fringe of small semicircles
Crowned bust of King to right, the crown surmounted by an orb and cross embroidered collar and tippet star at throat sash bow on right shoulder two chains pendent on breast
Legend to left of bust, "Edward VII" to right of bust, "King and Emperor"

Reverse Rim as on obverse
Interior to fringe of rim two linear circles
Area Circle with legend

ONE
RUPEE
INDIA
1910

یک روپیہ

Margin containing wavy line, and enclosing
at top side view of lotus,
at bottom lotus viewed from above,
to right rose and shamrock and thistle, each
with leafy stalk
to left same as to right

It is matter of common knowledge that the design adopted for the rupees that were struck as currency during the reign of Edward VII did not in this country meet with popular approval. The bust on the obverse was not merely uncrowned, it was emphatically bald headed, and to the Indian mind baldness does not comport with the majesty that should attach to a personage so exalted as a "King and Emperor." The design, while marked by a severe simplicity that might indeed suggest a certain innate strength, was lacking in those elements of richness and luxuriance which the Oriental deems of the essence of royalty. It is thus not surprising that the mint authorities at Calcutta decided to impress a new design

In due course fresh dies were prepared, and all the material necessary for a new issue was collected. On the eve of the fateful 6th of May, 1910, everything was in complete readiness, when alas! further action was stayed, for the mournful intelligence flashed across the wires that our beloved King was dead. It would seem, however, that a dozen or so rupees were struck, but none were issued as currency. The new coin, had it been issued, would, I am confident, have won immediate acceptance, inasmuch as the blemishes which in popular estimation had marred the earlier rupee had all been happily avoided. On the obverse King Edward appears as a King indeed, royally robed and crowned.

The new design is for the numismatist of special interest, since clearly it was adopted, *mutatis mutandis* for the later struck rupees of George V. Of both the reverse is identical, save that on the Edward rupee the date is 1910. We have the same circular area with the same legend, and the same wavy margin, exhibiting at the top and at the bottom the Indian lotus, while on either side come a rose, a shamrock, and a thistle.

On the obverse the bust of King Edward is to right, facing thus the bust on the rupees of the immediately preceding and succeeding reigns. The rim is broad and slightly raised, and the legend reads to the left of the bust 'Edward VII,' and to the right 'King and Emperor' (not the 'King Emperor' of our present coin). With these exceptions the unissued Edward rupee is but an 'advance copy' of King George's. Both exhibit the same imperial crown surmounted by a Maltese cross both the same ermine tippet both the same two chains distinctive of the Orders of the Star of India and of the Indian Empire and on both we find that same diminutive representation of an elephant which, curiously misapprehended, was to become the storm centre of so much hostile criticism.

GEO P TAYLOR

133 A NEW COIN OF SHAH ALAM II

[Plate XXI]

Mint Muradabad

Metal Copper

Size 8 inches = 21 mm

Weight 290 grs = 18.8 grms

Obverse

شاه عالم
 ← شاه عالم
 ←
 سکه صدار

[N.S.]

Reverse

حلوس
میدم
مانوس سده
مر مرادا باد

ج (m 91 I M Cat, vol 3, p 359) to the left of r

مانوس in the س of س

Provenance Amroha District Muradabad

No 2441 in the Indian Museum Catalogue, vol 3, is a Muradabad rupee of the same king Rupees of this mint are also known of Aurangzeb, Shah 'Alam Bahadur, Ahmad Shah Bahadur, and 'Alamgir II but a copper coin seems to be a novelty

PANNA LALL ICS

134 A NEW TYPE OF AUDAMBARA COINAGE

[Plate XXI]

Thirty copper coins were made over to me for examination by Dr A Venis, CIE, of the Queen's College, Benares, which he had received from Mr Nelson Wright ICS Subsequently Mr Nelson Wright sent a batch of 333 coins to me from the same find They were found in the village of Irppal in the Dehra Tahsil, Kangra District Punjab They belong to a very little known variety of the tribal coin of the Audumbaras which has never been described before

The earliest notice of a type of Audambara coinage approaching this type was made by Cunningham¹ He establishes definitely that the Odumbaras or Audambaras were a North Western tribe because they have been twice coupled by Varahamihira with the *Kapisthalas*, who were the *Kambisthalas* of Arrian's *Indica*, and with the *Traigartias* and *Kulindas* in *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* He then proceeds to describe this particular type of coinage —

"The coins are thin pieces of copper, either square or oblong, with a temple on one face and an elephant on the other Beside the temple are the Buddhist symbols of the Swastika and Dharmachakra, and beneath it, a snake Before the elephant there is a tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing, with an Arian legend on two sides, of which one-half reads distinctly *Odumbara* I conclude therefore that the tree represented is an *Udumbara*"²

¹ Arch. Survey Rep., Vol XIV p 116 8 ² *Ibid*, p 117

7 *Obv* Sacred tree within enclosure and front part of elephant Kh legend, on top, (Ma) *haddevasa*

Rev Three storeyed temple, trident, with banners, below snake Br legend on top (Ma) *haddevasa ra (sa)* to right *Rudradasasa*

8 *Obv* Sacred tree in ide enclosure and front part of elephant Kh legend on top *Mahadevasa rana* to left *Rudradasa (sa)*

Rev Three-storeyed temple below snake Traces of Br legend on top to right *Odu (m) barisa*

R. D. BANERJI

135 BAIRĀTA OR BARAR ?

[Plate XXI]

Some time ago M. Muhammad Abdus-Saboor, who is engaged in cataloguing the coins of the Nagpūr Museum sent me a cast of a rupee of Akbar of the type hitherto supposed to have issued from the Bairat Mint. He expressed some difficulty in reading the mint name as Bairat and suggested that the word looked more like Barar.

Appreciating his difficulty I corresponded with some of the members of the Numismatic Society of India on the subject and eventually by the kindness of Mr. Framjee Jamnasee Thanawala was able to procure two other rupees of the same mint on which the terminal letters of the mint name were more clearly visible than is usual on coins of this type. An examination of these coins satisfied me that there was good reason to prefer the reading Barar to Bairat or Bairata. This view was strengthened by the comparison of the coins with rupees of Akbar of Elchpur the capital of Barar (Varhad).

The fact that Barar was the name of a *subah* and not of a town need I think be considered no obstacle to the acceptance of the proposed reading. We know that there are rupees of Akbar assigned to the *subah* of Bangala whereas in later times there are instances of coins ضرب مره و (struck in the *subah* of Awadh).

Barar was ceded to the Mughals by treaty in 1004 A.H.¹ the 41st year of Akbar's reign and as far as I know there are no so-called Bairata rupees which bear an earlier date than 42 Hah.

On the other hand filus from the Bairata mint are known with dates as early as 971². I have myself two of 979 and 980 A.H. In these coins the *at* at the end of the mint name are quite distinct and bear no resemblance to the terminal letters of the mint name on the rupees in question. Further the

¹ Burgess *Chronology of Modern India* p. 58

² LMC Vol. III No. 169

[N S]

"ye" of *بر* is also clearly present, whereas on the rupees there is no separate stroke for that letter. The similarity of the "Barāta" rupees in type and lettering with those struck at Elchpūr is most striking.

There is also a coin of Jahangir's first year 1014 A H which Lieut Col Vost has ascribed to 'Barāta'. The coin is in the Lucknow Museum, and I have recently seen it with the result that I am satisfied that on it too the mint name can unhesitatingly be read "Barār". In this case also the type and lettering—even the rather unusual position of the date—are identical with the earlier coins of Jahangir of the Elchpūr mint.

Taking all these facts into consideration the arguments appear to tell strongly in favour of the reading "Barār". The matter was brought up for discussion at the recent annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India and the result was that an unanimous resolution was passed adopting the reading 'Barār' in preference to 'Barāta' on the rupees of Akbar hitherto ascribed to the latter mint. It is suggested, therefore, that Barāta be excluded from and Barār be included in the list of silver mints of Akbar and Jahangir.

H NELSON WRIGHT

136 NOTE ON THE DATES OF THE MAULŪDĪ ERA OF TIPU SULTAN OF MYSORE

The coinage of Tipu Sultan is in many respects so interesting that it has received a large share of attention from numismatists, yet in spite of this there has been a good deal of confusion with regard to the question of dates. As is well known the coins issued during the first four years of the reign bear the Hijri date while those from the fifth year to the year of Tipu's death, are dated in accordance with his special Maulūdī era, which as the name indicates takes its origin from the birth and not from the flight of the Prophet. In the coins of the second period the dates read from right to left. While the coins of the fourth year are dated 1200 A H, those of the fifth year bear the date 1215 A H and it appears probable that the commencement of a new century influenced Tipu in making the change at this time. The Hijri years are lunar ones of twelve lunar months each, but those of the Maulūdī system are luni solar of twelve lunar months, with an intercalated or *adhāḥa* month added to the year at certain intervals. Tipu's new calendar as was pointed out by Kirkpatrick in 1811, was simply the Hindu one in common use in Mysore, with a cycle of sixty years, Arabic names taking the place of Hindu ones for the cycle years and months.

Several writers puzzled by the difference of fourteen years between the two systems at the time the new one was introduced, have supposed that the term Maulūdī was used in a figurative sense, and that the era originated in the commencement of Muhammad's mission or had reference to the time when he first announced himself as the Messenger of God. The true explanation was however furnished by Marsden (*Musismata Orientalia* Part II, p 701, 1825) who pointed out, that if the year of the Prophet's birth in the Christian reckoning be subtracted from the Christian year in which the innovation was introduced the result is 1215. For this purpose Marsden takes the date of Muhammad's birth as 571 A D and the first year of the new era as 1786 A D ($1786 - 571 = 1215$) but as we shall see Tipū Sultan for some unexplained reason appears to have assumed that Muhammad was born in 572 A D, as the first year of the new era certainly commenced in 1787 A D. The correct formula is therefore $1787 - 572 = 1215$.

All writers on the subject since the time of Marsden have so far as I know without a single exception assumed, not unnaturally that because the fourth regnal year terminated in 1786 A D the year 1215 A D also commenced in the same year, but this, as I shall proceed to show is an error, and the year 1215 really commenced in 1787. In certain of Tipu's letters referred to in Kirkpatrick's *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan* (1811), Beatson's *View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tippoo Sultan* (1800) and Woolf's *Review of the War in Mysore* (1800) the complete Maulūdī date and the corresponding Hijrī one were both noted at the time the letter was written. At my instance these dates have been examined by the Hon ble Diwan Bahadur L D Swamikannu Pillai, M A LL B author of *Indian Chronology* (Madras, 1911) and a well known authority on the subject. He reports that they completely establish the facts that the months of Tipu's new system were Indian lunar months that the days of the month were simply *tithis* continuously numbered from one to thirty, the fortnights being omitted and further that Tipu's extra months were without a single exception the Indian *adhika* months. Mr Swamikannu Pillai finds that the Maulūdī year began regularly at the same time as the Indian lunar year, i.e. on *Chaitra Śukla pratipada*, or the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, and that the serial numbers of Tipu's cyclic years, recorded on many of his gold and silver coins, are exactly the same as those of the South Indian cyclic years.

To take an illustration which is of more than ordinary interest, the date on which Tipu Sultan signed the preliminary articles of the treaty framed after the capture of Seringapatam by Lord Cornwallis, is recorded by Kirkpatrick (appendix p 11) as follows —

[N S]

28th of Jamadūssany, 1206 A H

1st of Rubbany, year Zuburjud, 1219 A M

22nd February, 1792 A D

Mr Swamikannu Pillai finds that of the three dates thus given as equivalent the first and third correspond but the second which was the one recorded by Tipū himself, was really 23rd February, 1792. The 22nd February was *amāiāsyā* or new moon day, the *tithi* ending about 3 A M, i.e. before sunrise on 23rd February, while 1st Rabanī commenced at sunrise on 23rd February and ran until sunrise on 24th February. Mr Swamikannu Pillai added that Tipū from his well known superstitious views and belief in Hindu astrology would be unlikely to sign the articles on *amāiāsyā* day, which was inauspicious for such a transaction and that he probably signed after 3 A M on 23rd February. He wrote subsequently to say that his supposition was confirmed, for in Major Dirom's *Narrative of the Campaign in India which terminated the War with Tippoo Sultan in 1792* (1793) p. 226 the following statement occurs — "These were the terms, which after different conferences with the vakeels were dictated by Earl Cornwallis to Tippoo Sultan and to which he found it necessary to submit. They were sent to him on the 22nd, and returned by him, signed and sealed, the night of the 23rd February." An examination of these dates shows conclusively that the Maulūdī year 1219 corresponds to 1791 92 A D and not to 1790 91, as has so often been assumed.

While Marsden erroneously antedates by a year in the Christian reckoning all the earlier coins with Maulūdī dates yet in referring to the Nagar *paṣa* dated 1227, the only coin known to have been struck by Tipū in the last year of his reign, he records the year correctly. With reference to this coin he states (*Numismata Orientalia*, part II, p. 724) — "This is probably the latest specimen of his coinage that has been preserved, and must have been struck within about a month of his death, the year 1227 of his era having begun on the 6th of April 1799, and the storming of Seringapatam, on which occasion he fell, having happened on the 4th of May of that year, being the anniversary of his accession." So firmly, however, had the other dates been established, that the late Major Tufnell, in his *Catalogue of Mysore Coins in the Collection of the Government Museum Bangalore* (1839), actually corrects Marsden in regard to the Nagar coin and points out that the year should be 1798 and not 1799. It will be seen that the acceptance of the latter date affords the only satisfactory explanation of the fact that, whereas in the year 1226 A M, coining was in full operation at Seringapatam and two other mints in 1227 A M, which commenced less than a month before Tipū's death, only a single type of coin was

struck, and that at a remote mint, lying outside the sphere of the military operations which terminated in the capture of Seringapatam.

If, as appears certain, the Maulūdi year 1215 commenced on 20th March, 1787, the first day of the Indian luni-solar year which was numbered 41 both in the Indian and in Tipū's calendar, the question arises were coins struck by Tipū Sultan in the period amounting to nearly five months, which elapsed between the last day of the Hijri year 1200 (23rd October, 1786), and the first day of the Maulūdi year 1215 (20th March 1787). It is hardly likely that coinage was suspended during this period, and the coins were probably dated 1215 in anticipation of the new era. It is, however, possible that the coins dated 1211, of which at least four varieties are known from the Seringapatam and Nagar mints, were issued during this intermediate period. These coins, which are now somewhat rarely met with, have been hitherto supposed to have been dated in error, owing possibly to the die-engraver being unaware of the introduction of the new era.

The following table, which shows the date according to the Christian reckoning of the commencement of each year of Tipū Sultan's reign, will make clear some of the foregoing references —

Regnal year	Cyclo year	Letter year	Maulūdi year	First day of Maulūdi year (Hindu New Year's day)	Hijri year	First day of Hijri year
1	37				1197	7th Dec. 1782
2	38				1198	26th Nov. 1783
3	39				1199	14th " 1784
4	40				1200	4th " 1785
5	41		1215	20th March 1787	1201	14th Oct. 1786
6	42		1216	7th April 1788	1202	14th " 1787
7	43		1217	27th March 1789	1203	2nd " 1788
8	44		1218	16th " 1790	1204	1st Sept. 1789
9	45		1219	4th April 1791	1205	17th " 1790
10	46		1220	3rd March 1792	1206	31st Aug. 1791
11	47		1221	12th " 1793	1207	19th " 1792
12	48		1222	1st April 1794	1208	9th " 1793
13	49		1223	1st March 1795	1209	29th Jan. 1794
14	50		1224	8th April 1796	1210	17th " 1795
15	51		1225	20th March 1797	1211	7th " 1796
16	52		1226	18th " 1798	1212	22nd Jan. 1797
17	53		1227	6th April 1799	1213	10th " 1798

Notes — The letter years are those on which the first four letters of the Arabic alphabet are found on the coins. The

column showing the commencement of each Maulūdi year is taken from p. xcv of the *Indian Calendar* by Sewell and Balakrishna Dikshit (1896)

Haidar 'Ali died on 7th December, 1782 (1st Muharram 1197 A H) Tipu Sultan died on 4th May, 1799 (28th Dhul qa da, 1213 A H, or 29th Ahmadi 1227 A H)

In conclusion, I desire to thank the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillu for the assistance which he so generously rendered in clearing up the question of dates and thus enabling me to state that the year 1213 A H of Tipu Sultan commenced in 1787 A D

J R HENDERSON

Supdt., Madras Government Museum

137. THE LEGEND OF SAMUDRAGUPTA'S AŚVAMEDHA COIN TYPE

The legend of Samudragupta's Aśvamedha coin type has survived only in fragments. In the *Catalogue of Gupta Coins in the British Museum* I was unable to illustrate coins giving the complete legend. The portion there given from the coins illustrated

Rājādhirāja (h) pṛthivīm vijātya (or vimarjvā) Divamjayaty is sufficient to show that the legend is an *Upajati* couplet. On Pl V 10, two *aksaras* follow the *tya* of which the second is certainly *t*, thinking of expressions like *apraniratha* and *aprativāryavirva* etc. I read the first of these two characters as *pra* and suggested the latter epithet to complete the couplet. Dr Venis has recently examined the coin and pointed out to me that the first *akṣara* is really *hṛ* (with Eastern *h* as on Pl V, 1-7). Having established this reading he suggested vocalising the following consonants *v-j-m* on the Ballia coin, a cast of which I owe to Mr W. E. M. Campbell, ICS, as *vājime*. We still require a syllable to complete an *Upendravara* line. Dr Venis calls my attention to Thomas's statement in *Records*, p. 22, that the restored legend of the Aśvamedha type is *navamajamadhak rājādhirājah pṛthivīm jayatyā*. The misreading *na* for *ta* is readily explained and there is no reason to doubt that Thomas saw a coin unfortunately not illustrated anywhere, which ended *t v-m dh*. This supplies the missing *dh* and we need have no hesitation in agreeing with Dr Venis that the epithet is *āhrtavajimedhak*, to be translated as a *Bahuvrīhi*, "he who has restored the horse sacrifice". Although not as common as *asvamedha* its synonym *vajimedha* is well established, it is hardly necessary to recall the *crot-sannāsvamedhakharīḥ*, "the restorer of the Aśvamedha long in abeyance," of Samudragupta's Allahabad inscription, and it is significant that the same root *a-hṛ* is used in both cases. It

was quite a common occurrence for the Gupta engravers to have exhausted the space at their disposal before they had completed the legend. It is to be hoped however that a specimen may be found with *dh* like the coin seen by Thomas. The Bulla coin is not unique in containing the latter part of the legend, for there is a duplicate of it in the collection of Dr William Hoey, I C S (retired), of Oxford. The ending of the first line presents some difficulty. The last word on the coin in the Bodleian library and on one in Dr Hoey's collection is *vijitya* one form of the legend therefore is

*Rājā hrīrajah prthivīm vijitya
Divam jayatyāhrīlavājamedhak*

The king of kings having conquered the earth
Wins heaven, being the restorer of the *Aśvamedha*

On the majority of coins however the last *āksara* is clearly *tvā vijitvā* is of course an impossible form, and as on some specimens like B M Pl V 14 the *āksara* before *tvā* is certainly not *v* but seems to be *v*. I have suggested *prthivīmavitvā* as one form of the legend. It is possible that other coins have *jityā* preceded by some synonym of *prthivīm*. There can be no doubt however that Dr Venis has established one form of the legend with certainty

J ALLAN

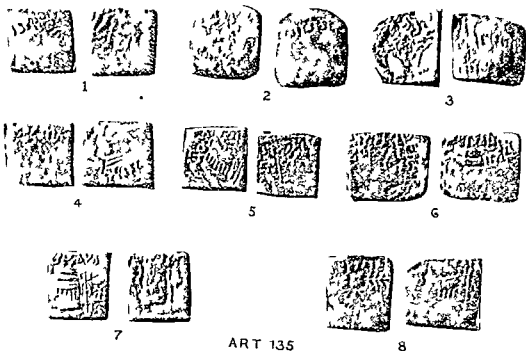
PS—Dr Venis asks me to add that his pupil Pandit Hariramachandra Divekar, M A drew his attention to the use of the root *ā hr* in connection with *Asvamedha* in the Allahabad *prākāśa*, and that he owes the reference to Thomas to Mr W E M Campbell

J A

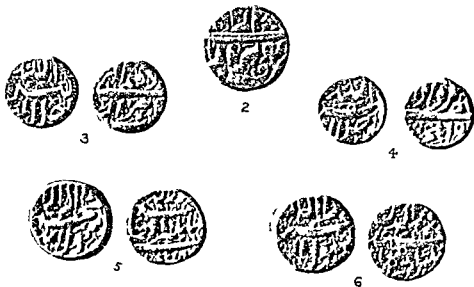
ART 133



ART 134



ART 135



A New Coin of Shah Alam II (Article 133)

A New Type of Audambara Coinage. (Article 134).

'Bairita or Barir' ? (Article 135)

Note.—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 256 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1914

138 THE AHOM COINS OF A D 1648

The Ahom coins dated 1570 Sālā, or A D 1648, have hitherto been attributed to Susengpha or Pratapa Singha (Vide Mr Gait's *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, Mr Allan's paper on *The Coinage of Assam*, in the Numismatic Chronicle 1909, pages 300-331, and Mr Stapleton's *Contributions to the History and Ethnology of North Eastern India*, II, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol VI, No II)

The inscriptions on these coins, which are in Sanskrit, are as follows —

(i) *Obv* Sri Sri Svarga Nārāyaṇa devasya Sake 1570
Rev Sri Sri Hari Hara carana parāyāṇasya

(ii) *Obv* As on (i)

Rev Sri Sri Hari Harendra carana parayanasya

As Mr Gait explains at page 103 of his *History of Assam*, Pratapa Singha was also known as Buddha Swarga Narayana on account of his great wisdom, and it has usually been assumed that the coins in question were minted by Pratapa Singha under a variation of this title

This attribution however is not free from difficulty According to the Buranjis or Assamese chronicles, which can usually be trusted in the matter of chronology Pratapa Singha died in A D 1641 It is true that Kasinath places his death in A D 1649, but Kasinath's history was published as late as A D 1844 and there is nothing to show on what his date was based It is not impossible that he was influenced by the existence of the coins dated 1648, and attributed to Pratapa Singha Mr Gait in his *History* discredited Kasinath and preferred to rely on the Buranjis Both Mr Allan and Mr Stapleton regard the 1648 coin as proving that Mr Gait was mistaken but the fact remains that the earlier authorities are unanimous in stating that Pratapa Singha died seven years before the date of these coins There is another difficulty in the attribution of the coins to Pratapa Singha Even assuming that he lived to A D 1649, it seems scarcely likely that, in a reign of 38 years, he should coin only in the year before his death The usual practice of the Ahom

Kings, before the time of Rudra Singha, was to issue coins bearing only the date of accession. This is exemplified by all the known coins of Chakradhvaja Singha, Udayaditya, Suhung, and Gadadhara Singha. It is true that the coins of Suklengmung are dated A D 1543, four years after his accession, but he was the first of the dynasty to issue coins, and his coins were doubtless dated from the year in which the innovation was introduced. A third difficulty occurs in the description of the King on the reverse of these coins as a worshipper of Hari Hara or Hari Harendra (Vishnu and Siva) which, as Mr Stapleton points out, is "in marked contrast to the legends on most of the subsequent Kings of Assam in which veneration for Hara Gauri (Siva and Durga) is usually expressed." It is at least probable that the king who struck these coins belonged to the Vaishnava sect whereas Pratapa Singha appears to have been a Saivite.

The traditional attribution of these coins is therefore full of difficulty, and should, I think, be abandoned. In that case the coins would naturally be assigned to Jayadhvaja Singha, who came to the throne according to the Buranjis, in A D 1648, the date borne by the coins. The title *Svarga Nārāyana Deva* is found in inscriptions on cannon, applied to Chakradhvaja, Udayaditya, and Gadadhara (Mr Gait's *Report* page 29), and the shorter expression *Svarga Deva* was a common appellation of all the Ahom Kings. The coins are therefore anonymous, like the full coins of the Jaintia Kings, and the issuing king is described only by his title. This attribution removes all the difficulties connected with these coins. They bear, like the coins of the other earlier Ahom kings, the date of the issuing king's accession, and the veneration which is expressed on them for Vishnu is in accord with the intimate connection of Jayadhvaja with the great Vaisnavite *Satras* of Auniati and Jakhalabandha (Vide Mr Gait's *History* page 138). Why the coins should have been issued anonymously, is a matter for conjecture. In the case of the Jaintia coins, the omission of the king's name is explained by the tradition that on the subjection of Jaintia by Silarai, brother of the Koch King Nar Narayan, the stipulation was made that the Jaintia Kings should refrain from issuing coins in their own names. It is possible, though hardly likely, that a similar stipulation was made by the Muham madans at the conclusion of peace with Pratapa Singha in 1638, and was observed until after the departure of Mir Jumla's expedition from Assam in 1663. These coins were, however, so far as is known, the first coins issued by an Ahom King in the Sanskrit language, and it is not unlikely that the form of the inscription was borrowed from the Jaintia coins, the Ahom title *Svarga Nārāyana Deva* appearing in the place of the Jaintia title *Jayantapura Purandara*.

A W BOTHAM

139 CHRONOLOGY OF THE JAINTIA KINGS

Mr Gait described a small collection of the coins of the Jaintia Kings in an article¹ published in the Journal in 1895. The collection consisted of whole coins of *Sāka* 1591 1592 1630, 1653, 1696 1704, 1707 and 1712 a quarter coin of 1653 bearing the name of Raja Bara Gosain, and a quarter coin of 1712 bearing the name of Ram Singha. The whole coins, as is the case with all known whole coins of the Jaintia Kings, are anonymous. Some of the coins described are not uncommon in Assam but no fresh coins appear to have been discovered.

The following is a list of the Jaintia Kings for the period covered by these coins with the tentative chronology assigned to them in Mr Gait's *History of Assam*.

	Accession	Date of Death
Pratapa Singha	1669	1678
Lakshmi Narayan	1678	1694
Ram Singh I	1694	1703
Jay Narayan	1708	1731
Bar Gosain	1731	1770
Chattra Singha	1770	1780
Bijay Narayan	1780	1790
Ram Singh II	1790	1832

The dates in bold type are given by Mr Gait as conjectural. I venture to think that in framing this tentative chronology Mr Gait has not attached sufficient weight to the probability that all the dates borne by the coins described by him represent dates of accession. The only Jaintia King the date of whose accession is known for certain from other sources is Jay Narayan who is known from the Ahom Buranjis to have come to the throne in A.D. 1708 (1630 *Sāka*) which is one of the dates represented on the coins. The coins of the Ahom Kings to which the Jaintia coins are closely related bore only the date of accession of the issuing ruler until the institution of an annual coinage by Rudra Singha. The Jaintia Kings do not appear ever to have issued an annual coinage. The coins of 1707 and 1712 *Sāka* are sufficiently common to make it probable that intermediate coins would have been discovered had they existed. The probability therefore is in my opinion that like the earlier Ahom Kings the Jaintia Kings issued coins bearing only the dates of accession.

A.D. 1670 (1592 *Sāka*) was the date of the death of the Ahom King Chakradhvaja and the accession of his successor

Udayaditya According to the *Jaintia Buranjis* described by Mr Gait at page 18 of his *Report on the Progress of Historical Research in Assam*, friendly letters passed between Lakshmi Singha of Jaintia and the Ahom Kings Chakradhvaja and Udayaditya. Lakshmi Singha or Lakshmi Narayan therefore must have been on the throne in A.D. 1670, and the coin bearing that date was probably issued in the year of his accession. It is not unlikely that Chakradhvaja congratulated him on his accession, and that he returned the compliment by congratulating Udayaditya on the latter's accession to the Ahom throne later in the same year. If this is the case the coin dated 1591 *Sāla* (A.D. 1669) must mark the accession of Lakshmi Narayan's predecessor Pratapa Singha. Nothing is known of this ruler except his name, and there is therefore nothing improbable in the assumption that his reign lasted only for one year. The ruined palace at Jaintiapur bears an inscription stating that it was erected by Lakshmi Narayan in some date which is indistinct and which is suggested by Mr Gait to be 1602 *Sāka* or A.D. 1680. According to the *Jaintia Buranjis* Lakshmi Narayan was still on the Jaintia throne on the accession of the Ahom King Rudra Singha in A.D. 1696. The tone of Lakshmi Narayan's letter to Rudra Singha on the occasion of his accession was considered to be not what it should have been, and some coldness appears to have resulted between the two monarchs. The Ahom *Buranjis* contain a detailed account of a war which broke out between Rudra Singha and Lakshmi Narayan's successor Ram Singha I in A.D. 1707. Lakshmi Narayan therefore must have died between 1696 and 1707 but no specimen of Ram Singha's coinage has as yet been discovered. Ram Singha was captured by the Ahoms and died whilst still a prisoner in 1708. The Jaintia coin dated 1630 *Sāka* (A.D. 1708) was therefore struck on the accession of his successor Jay Narayan. Jay Narayan was succeeded by Bara Gosain, the date of whose accession is fixed by a named quarter coin and an anonymous whole coin as 1653 *Sāla* (A.D. 1731). In A.D. 1774 Jaintia appears to have been conquered by a British force under a Major Henniker, but it was restored on payment of a fine. The coin dated the same year (1696 *Sāla*) may have been issued by Bara Gosain on the occasion of his restoration to the throne. The next two anonymous coins must mark the accession of Chattra Singha and Bijaya Narayan in A.D. 1782 and 1785 respectively. Bijaya Narayan is known from a copper plate to have been reigning in A.D. 1788. Bijaya Narayan was succeeded by Ram Singh II the date on whose coins (1712 *Sāla*, or A.D. 1790) no doubt marks the date of his accession and who lived till A.D. 1832.

A copper plate dated A.D. 1770 states that the King Bara Gosain, having become a *Sanyasi*, made a grant of land

[N 5]

to a certain Brahmin with the consent of his nephews and nieces including his successor Chattra Singha. Mr Gait accordingly places the abdication of Bara Gosain, and the accession of Chattra Singha in this year. If this is correct, the coin of A.D. 1774 might mark the re-accession of Chattra Singha after the temporary occupation of Jaintia by the British, but the 1782 coin remains unaccounted for. It is, I think, more probable either that Bara Gosain never actually abdicated, or that the transfer of sovereignty to Chattra Singha was not complete until the death of Bara Gosain.

I would therefore suggest the following chronology for the Jaintia Kings from Pratapa Singha to Ram Singha II —

	Accession	Date of Death
Pratapa Singha	1669	1670
Lakshmi Narayan	1670	c. 1697
Ram Singha I	c. 1697	1708
Jay Narayan	1708	1731
Bara Gosain	1731	1782
Chattra Singha	1782	1785
Bijaya Narayan	1785	1790
Ram Singha II	1790	1832

A. W. BOTHAM

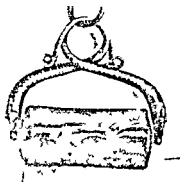
140 A NOTE ON A BABYLONIAN SEAL IN THE CENTRAL MUSEUM, NAGPUR

While examining the coins and seals of the Muhammadan kings of India placed in the Central Museum, Nagpur, with a view to preparing a list of them my attention was drawn to a small engraved roller apparently of stone set in a gold handle and bearing two lines of inscriptions in some strange character. This roller was placed along with the ornaments in the Industrial Section, but its peculiar shape excited my curiosity, and on examining it more minutely I found that it contained five human figures of which two were large and three smaller in size, a lightning fork, a crescent and a disc. Its general appearance led me to doubt whether it was correctly classed as an ornament, and the more I examined it the stronger grew my impression that it was something else than an ornament. My next thought was to get the inscription deciphered, which I was sure would throw more light on this point. An impression of the engravings was sent to Dr J. H. Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India, who forwarded it to Mr L. W. King of the British Museum, London. Mr King, who was able to decipher the inscription sends the following description —

“The scene engraved on the seal represents a goddess standing with hands raised in adoration before the weather god Adad or his West-semitic equivalent Amurru. In the field are his emblem the lightning fork, the disc and crescent. The small figures are probably divine attendants. The inscription gives the owner's name and reads ‘Libur belı servant of ()’ The end of the second line is apparently rubbed or worn and has not come out in the impression, it probably stated that Libur belı was ‘the servant of the god Amurru or Adad’. The meaning of the Babylonian name Libur belı is ‘May my lord be strong’. The seal dates from about 2000 B.C. the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon.”

As the seal had so long been mistaken for an ornament no record has been kept to show where, when, and how it was found.

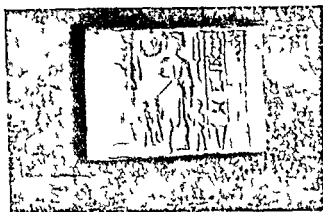
A photograph of the seal and its cast together with an impression of the same is appended.



1 Seal



2 Impression



3 Cast.

M A SUBOOR.

141 THE GUJARAT MAHMUDI

I

In article No 45 of No VI of the Numismatic Supplement Dr Taylor has by a process of elimination of possible rivals identified the Mahmudi mentioned by certain European travellers of the early seventeenth century with the coin of Gujarat Fabric described by him in article No 14 of Numismatic Supplement No II. The European evidence has been collected with great care and affords ample material for testing the author's conclusions.

I have never been able to bring myself to agree with those conclusions in their entirety but in the absence of a better theory felt bound to accept them provisionally.

Just recently documentary evidence has come to hand which makes it impossible to accept the exclusive identification of the Mahmudi with the coin of Gujarat Fabric. This consists of a passage from the *Mirat-i Ahmadi* written about A.H. 1170 (A.D. 1756) in the reign of Alamgir II which will be given later in extenso.

But first I propose to examine the article above cited and to give my reasons for considering it not altogether conclusive.

Of the three authorities quoted it is de Mandelslo to whose information the greatest weight has been attached.

The author has based his arguments largely upon the statements (1) that the Mahmudi was a coin of inferior silver and (2) that it was current only in Southern Gujarat.

Now Terry makes no mention of the quality of the silver in the Mahmudi but Herbert says expressly that the Mahmudi is of good silver. Ovington¹, fifty years later than

¹ Ovington *Voyage to Surat* 1689 p. 21.

de Mandelslo (A.D. 1689)¹, writes "And the silver (of Surat), which is the same all over India, outdoes even the Mexico and Sevil dollars and has less Alloy than any other in the world . 'Tis rare if either the Gold or Silver be falsified"

Next de Mandelslo confines the distribution of the Mahmūdī to the country between Surat and Cambay Terry states that it was current in Gujarat and Herbert in "Indostan", which means, it may be supposed, that part of "Indostan" in which he travelled Looking to the extraordinary mixture of currencies to be found at that time in every country of the world² and to the political unity of Gujarat, both as a kingdom and a province, we may take de Mandelslo's statement merely to mean that the Mahmūdī was the standard currency in South Gujarat and not that it was to be found nowhere else in Gujarat By supposing de Mandelslo to be guilty of a slight overstatement, we are able to reconcile the apparent inconsistency of the various accounts

II

The identification of the coin of Gujarat Fabric with the Mahmūdī depends upon the exclusion of

- (1) The Persian Mahmūdī,
- (2) the Kori,
- (3) the coins of the Gujarat Saltanat

(1) The Persian Mahmūdī is, as Dr Taylor has clearly shown, quite out of the question

(2) *The Kori*—I would first venture to question the assertion in section III para 2 of the article that the trade between Gujarat and Cutch (Kachchh³) or Gujarat and Kathiawar (Kathiavad³) was more land than sea borne But as it is not material to my argument, which has tried to show that the Mahmūdī must have been to some extent current in north Gujarat, I shall reserve discussion of the matter for a separate paper if occasion should arise

In favour of the kori we have the fact that it was 'originally called Mahmūdī' The passage, which I think the author of the article had in mind as the authority for this statement, comes from the *Tarikh-i Sorath* of Divan Ranchhodji of Jūnagadh

¹ Fryer 1672-1681 as quoted in section II of the article discussed, shows that the Mahmūdī was current in Surat a few years previously

² French Spanish and Venetian moneys were accepted by the money changers of Surat vide section I(c) of the article which quotes from de Mandelslo

³ Following the usual transliteration of the Gujarātī કચ્છ and કાઠિયાવાડ.

It runs as follows —

“Jam Satrasal (of Navanagar) ascended the masnad of his father in Samvat 1625 (A D 1557) and was allowed to coin money by Sultan Muzaffar, whose name it bore, but he ordered it to be called Mahmudī, after his father. The Sultan ordered it to be called Kūnvarī in the Hindu language and by the mispronunciation of the vulgar it is now called ‘Korī’

The coin had therefore a Muhammadan or official name and a Hindu or popular name. There would be nothing surprising in the two names existing side by side. Examples of this universal tendency will occur readily to every mind. “Pound sterling” and “sovereign”, “two shilling piece” and “florin”, “franc” and “vingt-sous”, besides innumerable slang or colloquial synonyms may be instanced.

The statement in section III, para 3, that ‘this designation (Mahmūdī) soon gave place to the term ‘korī’ is therefore difficult to accept in the absence of any definite evidence.

The last argument against the kori (para 4) is that it was considerably inferior in value to the ‘Sūrat Mahmūdī’. The value of the latter is stated to be 12d as compared with the 27d of the rupee. ‘The Cutch kori is now and was probably then too appraised at 7 1d (and that) of Navanagar at 7 6d’ (In making this quotation I omit Jūnagadh, as its coinage of koris appears to be of no great antiquity¹, and Porbandar as it is known when the coining of koris was commenced)²

But it seems unsafe to assume that the value of the old kori was the same as the value of the kori of to day. In the absence of the data on which Dr Taylor has made his calculations, I cannot venture to say more. If, as is possible they are derived from the Bombay Gazetteer written about A D 1875 when the rupee was worth 24d, they seem to be, if anything over liberal to the kori, that is to say, its value is even smaller than has been stated by the author. To day it is reckoned to be worth 4d only (*vide* Imperial Gazetteer s v Cutch).

I admit the depreciation of the kori but not a consistently low value from the time of its being minted.

Looking to the relative values of the silver in the kori and the rupee of Akbar and Jahangir and taking average weights as grs 70³ and grs 175⁴ we find that 2½ koris equal

¹ *Vide* Codrington *Coinages of Cutch and Kathiavar* (Reprint from *Numism. Chron.* vol. XV third series pp 59-88) p 98

² *Ibid.* p 20

Vide Codrington *op cit* passim

⁴ *Ibid* Wright I M C Akbar and Jahangir pp 16-37 etc. The market quotations would naturally be based on worn rather than new coins which form but a small part of the total currency.

1 rupee. The intrinsic value of the kōri falls therefore well within the limits defined by Dr Taylor for the Sūrat Mahmūdī.

I may put this argument in another way. The kōri is to-day worth 4d in a Gujarat bazar. A Mughal rupee is worth from 11d to 12d. The relative ratios of the two coins are therefore $2\frac{1}{2}$ 1 or 3 1.

I have assumed that the quality of the silver in the kōri is as good as that of the Akbarī rupee, but I do not think that this will be disputed. The kōris in my possession all seem excellent silver.

The question may be asked "Why, if the kōri was worth nearly half a rupee in A.D. 1633, should it have in A.D. 1744 an average value of four to a rupee (vide Capt Hamilton's remarks quoted in Codrington op cit (p 9))?"

The relative values of currencies is largely a matter of sentiment, which has from early times been exploited by money lenders. In A.D. 1850 the Broach rupee was the favoured currency in Broach. Its intrinsic value was 5% below par, but local prejudice had so far depreciated the company's rupee that often for months together both currencies exchanged at par. (Bombay Gazetteer, vol II, Broach, p 446)

The fluctuations of the Mahmūdī were still more violent. The author of the article has shown that it fluctuated from 10 8d to 13d in relation to foreign coins, when appreciated by the Surat demand and there is, at least, quite a possibility of a depreciation even to 7d (a quarter approximately of 27d) by the universal demand for the Mughal rupee, which must have been established by A.D. 1744 in S. Gujarat.

It is possible that Capt. Hamilton's estimate is put only in integers for convenience sake and the value of the kōri was rather more than $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee. If we take the intrinsic value of the kōri to be 10 8d (or $\frac{2}{3}$ of the rupee of 27d), it gives a figure midway between the two extremes of 13d and 7d.

There seems, in short, no reason why the Surat Mahmūdī should not be the Mahmūdī kōri of Cutch and Navanagar.

(3) But cannot the term have also been applied to the coins of the Gujarat Saltanat? I do not wish to make out a case for any coins of the Saltanat, except for that of which the kōri was a copy, the silverling of Muzaffar III. The arguments which affect the kōri hold good also for the coin of Muzaffar and need not be repeated.

But a few words may be said on the improbability of "the coinage of the conquered province of Gujarat—never very plentiful"—maintaining "its standing as the recognised currency of the Southern districts" (section IV, para 3 of the article). Old currency is apt to linger longer in the backwaters of a

[N S.]

district or province than in the headquarters. The Bābāshāī or Baroda rupee, which was at one time one of the accepted currencies of Ahmadābād district, was in universal use in the remote mahāl of Mūdasā in A D 1875 (Bombay Gazetteer, Ahmadabad). Similarly the Broach rupee, which was not coined at any rate after A D 1835, was at the same date the usual currency in the forest taluka of Māndvi in the Surat district (Bombay Gazetteer, vol II, Surat, p. 201).

Supplemented by the outturn of the kori mints, the currency of Muzaffar would not fail for some years, and afterwards the kori was issued with sufficient regularity to prevent either coin falling into disuse.

It may be added that though the coins of the Saltanat are not plentiful, yet the kori-like coin of Muzaffar is now far more frequently to be met with than all the remaining silver coins of the Saltanat.

Section IV, para 4 of the article deals with the weight of the Mahmūdī. It is unnecessary to add anything to what has been said, except that 70.74 gruns is a fairly close approximate to four muntis (four-fifths appears to be a misprint) of a Mughal rupee.

In Section V the arguments for the identification of the coin of Gujarāt Fabric with the Mahmūdī are summed up. I go so far in agreement with them as to say that it may have been popularly known as Mahmūdī, but I maintain that the true and original Mahmūdī is the kori.

I would further say in reference to Section V, para (d), that if the metal of the coins of Gujarāt Fabric be examined once more, it will be found that they cannot be said to be 'of a very base alloy'. All the specimens I have seen, including 80 from the Bānsdī State treasury which I examined last year, seemed to be of good though hard silver.

III

I have exhausted my *a priori* arguments. I now quote a translation of the passage from the Mir'at-i-Ahmadi (Bombay Lithographed edition of A D 1307, p. 225¹), which I referred to at the beginning of this article.

¹ The Bombay Gazetteer vol. I, Part I, p. 279, lines 18 and note, gives an abstract from this passage, made apparently from the edition I cite. It is as follows: 'The Jam, who of late years had been accustomed to do much as he pleased in 1640 A.D. withheld his tribute and set up a mint to coin koris. It goes on to say that 'Azām Khān (viceroy of Gujarāt, A D 1642) then marched against Navānagar. The statement that the mint was set up in 1640 A.D. is not found in my edition and in fact the inference to be drawn from the passage is that the mint was an old established one. There are one or two other small inaccuracies in the Gazetteer account, which was written for the general reader.

As the Jam had not performed the homage which it was incumbent upon zamindars to make 'Azim Khan made an advance with the intention of teaching him his manners.

'Azim Khan sent a message to him that until a tribute (pishkash) was fixed and the mint of Navanagar, in which Mahmūdīs were coined, abandoned his safety could not be guaranteed. The Zamindar who had no choice but obedience agreed to give a hundred Kachh¹ horses and three lakhs of Mahmūdīs by way of tribute and to abandon the mint. It is quite certain that for a time the mint there was suspended but up to the present day (A.D. 1756) Mahmūdīs are being struck in the name of Sultan Muẓaffar. As the modern coin bears the name of the Jam on one side in Hindi, they also call it a Jamī. In the Zilla of Baroda it used to be called Changīzī because it had been coined in the time of the domination of Changīz Khān the Ilāshī. In that zilla the currency, trade transactions, valuations of tribute and fixed revenue and (the assessments) of the parganas are in that coin. And in Ahmadābād even to this day transactions in ghī are calculated in Mahmūdīs. The Mahmūdī weighs four and a half mashas². Sometimes two and a half Mahmūdīs and sometimes three are reckoned to the rupee. A sacred and sublime (i.e. imperial) decree was issued on the subject of the foundation of a mint in Junagadh for the melting of Mahmūdīs but it was not satisfactorily carried into effect and the merchants with an eye to their convenience and to economy had the silver and gold that came from the ports of Diu and elsewhere into the Ahmadabad territory minted on the spot. So in consequence of a request from Mir Sabir the divan of the Subah an order for the suspension (of the mint) there had the honour of issuing.

We have in this translation evidence of

(1) The use of the name Mahmūdī for the Navanagar kori in A.H. 1050 A.D. 1640 (two years after de Mandelso's visit to Surat)

(2) The extent to which the coin was current as shown in the payment of three lacs of Mahmūdīs as pishkash to the Mughal Governor

(3) The use of the Mahmūdī under the name of Changīzī in the Baroda Zilla

(4) Its use as a coin of account in Ahmadabad about A.H. 1170 (A.D. 1756)

(5) Its weight

(6) Its exchange value which corresponds closely with

¹ Following the spelling of my text.

² Taking the ratio with Thomas's *Numismata Orientalia* p. 68 at 193 grains and calculating 8 rāts to the mashā the result comes to about 70 grains.

that given by the earlier European travellers, though it disagrees with that indicated for the kori by Capt Hamilton in A.D. 1744.

The author of the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* also gives some interesting details in his list of the sarkars of the Gujarat Sultanat drawn from the records of the hereditary record keeper Mūlchand (Bayley's Gujarat, p. 19).

In A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571) the year before Akbar's conquest of Gujarat (Bayley, op. cit., p. 5), the revenue of the ports of Surat, Bharūj and Khambhat were reckoned in rupees. We should now call these port-revenues imperial as distinct from the district or provincial revenues. Mahmadābād, Vadhval (now both in Kaira (Kheda) district) and Rander (Surat district) as well as the parganas of Ahmadabad, were also assessed in rupees. Baroda on the other hand and the sarkar or district of the port of Surat excluding the port itself were assessed in Changīzi Mahmūdī. Bharūj pargana i.e. the town and environs but not the port, was assessed in Changīzis and so also were the numerous parganas attached to the Sarkar of Bharūj including Orpad, Mandvi (Charmandvi) and Tadiashvar (Tarlesar) now situated in the Surat district (Bayley, p. 13).

The Champanir Sarkar corresponds very closely to the Panch Mahals district when combined with the Godhra Sarkar (Bayley, p. 14).

These sarkars which are accurately covered by the areas under Surat Brodra Broitchia Cambaya and the 'parts' of de Mandelslo are likely to have been assessed in the coin most generally current in their areas. The author of the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* while supporting de Mandelslo's statement that the Mahmūdī was the standard currency in South Gujarat and that Mughal rupees were also used does not consider it any inconsistency to say elsewhere that the Mahmūdī was also in use in Ahmadābād although the district and its environs were assessed in rupees.

In any case the Changīzi Mahmūdī of A.H. 979 could not be identical with the coin of Gujarat fabric, which was minted as far as we know after the conquest and which bore Akbar's name.

The fluctuation of the value of the Changīzi Mahmūdī in the time of Muzaḥfar III corresponds very nearly with that found in the European writers of the early seventeenth century.

The values given for different districts of Gujarat by the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* range from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a rupee. The Surat details give a very high appreciation at $\frac{1}{4}$ of a rupee, but for other reasons (Bayley, p. 12) the figures are suspicious and it is safer not to make use of them.

To sum up my conclusions I have attempted first to

show that the coin of Gujarat Fabric could not be considered to have an exclusive claim to the term Mahmūdī—then that it is the Narmagar kori and its congeners that have the real right to the name. But I have not entirely rejected the possibility that the coin of Gujarat Fabric may have been classed with the Mahmūdī.

The Mughal emperors minted alien coins into rupees as is shown in our extract from the *Mir at-i Ahmadi* and by Orington who says (*Voyage to Suratt*, p. 220) that Auringzib's officers melted down and converted into rupees 'strange coyn'. And it is just possible that Akbar deliberately struck the coin of Gujarat Fabric in an attempt to oust the Mahmūdī and it was perhaps shown to de Mandelslo by the Surat officials as the Mahmūdī which they hoped it would replace. It resembles the Mahmūdī closely, but is rather heavier and would lead the way to the introduction of a half rupee to which it so nearly approximates in weight. It would be the most likely coin to supplant the Mahmūdī kori.

I owe this conjecture to the concluding remarks of Dr Taylor's article but that the coin of Gujarat Fabric may have been known as a Mahmūdī and may have been minted in Surat is only a conjecture and needs further evidence to justify.

July 1914

A MASTER

Vote upon the Eponym of Changiz

The *Mir at-i Ahmadi* tells us that the Changizī is an alternative term for Mahmūdī and was used principally in Baroda. Baroda was the Jagir of Changiz Khan son of Imadul Mulk (Bayley Gujarat p. 12). He was for the ten concluding years of Muzaffar's reign the most important person in Gujarat and it was his assassination in A.D. 1571 which led indirectly to the fall of the Gujarat Saltanat. His assassin Jujhar Khan was thrown beneath the feet of an elephant at Akbar's orders on the prayer of his widow.

He was not a Habshi, as the *Mir at-i Ahmadi* states but most probably of Turkish extraction as the name Rumi used by his father indicates. It was a Habshi, who assassinated him hence probably the mistake.

The Lori Mahmūdī was minted just when Changiz Khan was at the zenith of his power and his name was naturally associated with the new coin.

A M

142 REVIEW

R. B. WHITEHEAD *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore* Vol. II, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors*

It is with no ordinary pleasure we record the publication of a work that for many years to come will prove invaluable to all who contemplate a serious study of Indian Numismatics. This work owes its origin to the wise and public spirited action of the Panjab Government in sanctioning the preparation of a detailed and adequately illustrated catalogue of the rich collection of coins in the Museum at Lahore, action abundantly justified by the recent issue from the Clarendon Press of the two large and handsome volumes compiled by Mr. Richard B. Whitehead, I.C.S. The Government were fortunate in being able to secure for this undertaking a scholar who as Honorary Secretary of the Numismatic Society of India, had already given proof of special competence. Those who were familiar with his earlier papers on Indian Numismatics awaited this larger work of his with high expectations and now with the catalogue in our hands we feel that our best hopes have been fulfilled.

So far as relates to the Mughal coins of India, two or at the most but three books have hitherto been recognized as authoritative. There is Stanley Lane-Poole's volume in the British Museum Catalogue, a volume published so far back as 1892 and there is also Nelson Wright's admirable contribution to the Indian Museum Catalogue. To both of these and to Rodgers's List—one can scarcely call it a Catalogue—of the Mughal coins that twenty one years ago were in the Cabinets of the Panjab Museum every collector who has specialized in this series will cordially acknowledge his deep debt of obligation. But henceforward along with these Mr. Whitehead's recent volumes must be assigned an honoured place, perhaps I should say the place of honour. Certainly Mr. Rodgers's List eminently serviceable as it was in its day is now definitely superseded for in future any one desirous of informing himself regarding the coins in the Panjab Museum will be sure to turn to the presentment of them supplied by Mr. Whitehead's finely illustrated catalogue.

The British Museum volume also will now inevitably be relegated to a comparatively subordinate position, and not merely because the coins therein registered fall in number far below those to be found not only in the Museums at Calcutta and Lahore but even in the cabinets of some three or four private collectors. The simple truth is the published catalogue, however representative it may have been of the Mughal coins possessed by the British Museum some two decades ago is not by any means a satisfactory record of the

coins it possesses to-day. Year by year for the past twenty years it has continued steadily adding to its store and recently through the munificence of Mr Henry Van den Bergh it has acquired the Bleazby Cabinet with its numerous rare and even unique specimens, so that not improbably the National Collection is to-day, as it should be, the finest in the world. But alas! a full half of its treasures, and that the choicer half remains unreported, and hence unknown to the British public. It is much to be desired that the Museum authorities recognizing the lamentable situation will take early steps to issue a superb catalogue worthy of their superb collection. But, so long as this incumbent duty remains undischarged they must be prepared to see their present obsolescent catalogue as it falls more and more out of date yielding more and more its once high place to such a holarly volumes as Mr Nelson Wright's or Mr Whitehead's containing as they do ample records of the more recent numismatic discoveries.

These two books distinctly take rank in the highest class and they stand, moreover, in intimate relation each to the other. Mr Whitehead indeed repeatedly makes express acknowledgment of his indebtedness to Mr Nelson Wright's earlier labours in the same numismatic field an indebtedness which is we fancy shared by all collectors of the Mughal coins of India. Mr Wright's catalogue of these coins as represented in the Indian Museum and in the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal constituted when six years ago it issued from the Clarendon Press a marked advance on the best works till then available and the lines that he at that time laid down Mr Whitehead has followed almost in their entirety. Indeed so closely do the two books resemble each other that they might almost be regarded as consecutive volumes of some numismatic series projected by a common editor. The interval however of six years that separates their publication was a period that witnessed considerable additions to our knowledge of the Mughal coins, and Mr Whitehead has been careful to turn this fresh material to good account. For this reason his catalogue will, we anticipate, be in more frequent request than Mr Nelson Wright's yet one may truly say that the later work is but the natural fruition of the earlier. Not that the two are absolutely identical in their methods, for Mr Whitehead has by no means shrunk from introducing such changes as he has deemed desirable. The most notable of these is the new order in which he has presented the mint-towns of the several reigns. The names of the mints written in Persian characters and also transliterated into English are now arranged not in the English but in the Persian alphabetical order. To English collectors this change may just at first prove somewhat inconvenient,

but surely from the scholar's point of view this new arrangement is the only one free from objection, and it will, we believe meet ere long with general acceptance

The first volume of Mr Whitehead's Catalogue deals with the Indo-Greek coins struck during the two centuries or so immediately before and the two immediately after the Christian era. Of the Greek Kings of Bactria and India, also of the Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians, and Kushans our knowledge is derived almost entirely from the study of their coins. These contemporary documents in metal are, as Mr Whitehead says, to a very large extent the only testimonies to a period which would otherwise have disappeared from history. To extract from them all they can tell us regarding a field so obscure was no easy task but in entering on it Mr Whitehead possessed exceptionally high qualifications for its fulfilment. Any critical estimate, however, of this portion of his work must be undertaken by a writer more competent than myself. I shall only say that, if the first volume be characterized by the same qualities as mark the second it is a workmanlike and scholarly production that will prove an invaluable aid to the study of the early history of India.

Collectors of the coins of the Mughal Emperors will appreciate very highly certain features of Mr Whitehead's Catalogue that serve in no small degree to render it more practically useful. He has for example, given in ordinary course a full list of such coins possessed by the Panjab Museum as issued from the various mints during the reign of each Emperor but he has in each case also appended a further brief list showing those mints of each Emperor that are unrepresented in the Museum. Thus by simply combining the two lists we obtain a register of all the mints that were active in any one reign. Another welcome entry consists of the coin couplets each one of which the first time it occurs on a coin has been incorporated in metrical form into the text while along with it has been given its English translation. A mere index of the coins thus treated would of course enable one to make a complete record of the many quaint couplets of the Indian Mughal series.

Then too it is a distinct gain that mention is made of the years in which were issued in gold and silver and copper the earliest and the latest known coins of each emperor, also the exact dates of his accession to the throne and of his death. Twenty beautifully executed plates serve to illustrate the coins in the Panjab Museum, but numismatists will be also grateful for the supplementary Plate XXI, reserved for reproductions of twenty rare and interesting coins in other cabinets.

The list given on page xv of the Mughal Emperors and Claimants is of interest for its exclusion of Muhammad Nekosiyar, and still more for its inclusion of 'Azim sh shan

coins it possesses to-day. Year by year for the past twenty years it has continued steadily adding to its store and recently through the munificence of Mr Henry Van den Bergh it has acquired the Bleasby Cabinet with its numerous rare and even unique specimens, so that not improbably the National Collection is to-day, as it should be, the finest in the world. But alas! a full half of its treasures, and that the choicer half remains unreported, and hence unknown to the British public. It is much to be desired that the Museum authorities recognizing the lamentable situation will take early steps to issue a superb catalogue worthy of their superb collection. But, so long as this incumbent duty remains undischarged they must be prepared to see their present obsolescent catalogue as it falls more and more out of date yielding more and more its once high place to such scholarly volumes as Mr Nelson Wright's or Mr Whitehead's containing as they do ample records of the more recent numismatic discoveries.

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discovered Lahor rupee of Muhammad Shah, on which that monarch calls himself Muhammad Shah Bahadur, of Mr Framji J Thanawali's rupee, possibly from the Sitpūr mint, bearing the denominational epithet در, of Mr. Nelson Wright's Multan rupee of Shah 'Ālam I with its حامی دس legend, and of the unique four tānkī piece, found by Mr A Master in Ahmadabad on which the word چار is spelt چہار. The statement on page lxx regarding the mint-town bearing the epithet Zainul bilad indicates precisely the view that at present holds the field. From the existing evidence we can only say that the coins from this mint may have been, we are not just sure that they were, struck at Ahmadabad. It is interesting to note that whereas Mr Nelson Wright, when compiling his Indian Museum Catalogue six years ago referred, in a mere parenthesis, to the Urdu Zafar Qarin muhr of 984 as "possibly still unique", Mr Whitehead is now able to state also parenthetically, that this round gold muhr is 'one of two known specimens'. Again on page lx we read. The name on these latter coins looks more like Barut (than Barrata), or, as suggested by Mr H Nelson Wright Berar'. Were Mr Whitehead writing this sentence to day he would not fail to add that at the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held last January (1914) it was unanimously agreed that so far as relates to Akbar's rupees from this mint the reading برار Barar, be adopted.

In Appendix B is given a table that should prove useful of the Ilahi synchronisms of the Hijri New Year's Day from 964 to 1070. Page 441 exhibits 103 'Marks on Mughal Coins'. This interesting plate would gain immensely in value if a list were drawn up indicating for each mark the several coins on which that special work is found.

The Āsafabad Bareli rupees merit a more detailed statement than the short reference made to them on page lv. In a letter received now five years ago, from Colonel W Vost, I M S, he mentions having seen Bareli Qit'a rupees of A H 1203, 1205, and 1207, bearing 29 as the regnal year,

of A H 1208, and 1209	31	,	"	,
of A H 1209, and 1211	35	,	"	,
of A H 1211,	36	,	"	,

and of A H 1211, 1212, 1313, 1214, 1215, 1216 bearing 37 as the regnal year. To this list Mr Whitehead's Catalogue now adds Bareli Qit'a rupee of A H 1218 and R Y 37. The Āsafabad Bareli rupees, on the other hand, seem to be confined to the three Hijri years 1209, 1210, and 1211, with which is invariably associated the one regnal year 35, written either as ۳۵ or as ۳۵. It is thus probable that the Āsafabad issue appeared only in the interval between A H 1209 and

Both these changes will be approved by all who have read Mr W Irvine's article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1899, and Mr Whitehead's in the *Numismatic Supplement* XVII. Mr Whitehead however, does well to mention (page xxiii) that historians tell of coins having been struck in Nekosiyar's name though up to the present none have been discovered.

Another noteworthy and admirable feature of this catalogue is the frequent silent correction of errors that blemish some of the previously published works. For instance the *muhr* and rupee of Shah Alam I, attributed in the British Museum to the Sholipūr mint are here correctly assigned to Mailapur, the Farrukhsiyar *muhr* B M C No 893 wrongly ascribed to Bareilly, is here duly registered as from Purbandar and the rupee attributed to the extraordinary mint Mumbai-Surat is now accredited to Mahisor. So also the Ilahi *muhr* assigned in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library Collection to Tatta is in a brief footnote on page 20 traced and rightly to Akbarnagar. Rodgers's tentative readings of the mint-names Bandar Shahu and Darulbirt Kandi are happily abandoned in favour of Srinagar and Darulbarakat Nagar respectively.

The map supplied in this catalogue of the mint towns of the Mughal Emperors indicates many of the ascertained results of research during the past six years. Bandar Shahi has been omitted altogether the location of Malpūr, and Pattan Deo has been corrected and several newly discovered mints have been inserted. These include Islam Bandar Toragal Jinji, Karpa, Sikakul Bikaner, Sadnagar, and Mailapur. Srinagar, which may represent the capital of Kashmir, but may with at least equal probability be the Srinagar of Garhwal has wisely been located on the map at both these places.

It is by no means on the map alone that we find ample evidence of a scholarship perfectly informed regarding the latest additions to our knowledge of the Mughal coins. Amongst the new couplets recorded are those on the Akbarabad rupee of Shah Alam Bahadur (No 2015) the Shahjahanabad rupee of Alamgir II (No 2797) and the Tatta rupee of Shah Jahan II (page lxxv). Farrukhsiyar's remarkable title نالت صاحب فرس

Third lord of the conjunction' is entered in a luminous note in Appendix C on the symbol *Shahib-i-qiran*. More than one reference is made to the interesting formula حلوس قعر مابوس present on the reverse of two rupees that issued in the first regnal year of Shah Alam Bahadur one from the Kambiyat and the other from the Ahmadabad mint. We also find mention of the Akbarnagar rupee of Nur Jahan in the Lucknow Museum, of Mr C. J. Brown's unique rupee of Aurangzeb's first regnal year from the Shahjahanabad mint, of the newly

discovered Lāhor rupee of Muhammad Shah, on which that monarch calls himself Muhammad Shah Bahadur, of Mr Framji J Thanawala's rupee, possibly from the Sitpūr mint, bearing the denominational epithet در, of Mr. Nelson Wright's Multan rupee of Shah 'Ālam I with its حامی دس legend, and of the unique four tānkī piece, found by Mr. A Master in Ahmadābād, on which the word چار is spelt چہار. The statement on page lxxx regarding the mint-town bearing the epithet Zūnūl-bīlād indicates precisely the view that at present holds the field. From the existing evidence we can only say that the coins from this mint may have been, we are not just sure that they were, struck at Ahmadābād. It is interesting to note that whereas Mr Nelson Wright, when compiling his Indian Museum Catalogue six years ago, referred, in a mere parenthesis, to the Urdū Zafar Qarīn muhr of 984 as "possibly still unique", Mr Whitehead is now able to state also parenthetically, that this round gold muhr is 'one of two known specimens'. Again on page lx we read 'The name on these latter coins looks more like Barāt (than Barrata), or, as suggested by Mr H Nelson Wright, Berar'. Were Mr Whitehead writing this sentence to day he would not fail to add that at the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held last January (1914), it was unanimously agreed that so far as relates to Akbar's rupees, from this mint the reading برار Barar, be adopted.

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1211, though both in 1209 and in 1211 Bareilly Qī'a rupees were also struck. It would be interesting to learn whether in A.H. 1210 the Āsafabad entirely superseded the Qī'a rupee, or whether in that year too both types were issued at Bareilly.

The three Baroda rupees Nos 3198—3200 are, we observe, assigned in the catalogue to the reign of Shah 'Ālam II. Now Shah 'Ālam's Baroda coins are extremely rare, and in the absence of that Emperor's name—it is absent from all the three coins—it would be far safer to assume that the top line of the obverse bore the name not of Shāh 'Ālam (II) but of Akbar (II). The quasi-regnal years ۹۴۴ and ۹۴۶ entered on the reverse should then date from A.H. 1221, the year of Akbar II's accession and in that case the three rupees would fall outside the range of coins deemed to be Mughal issues.

For a book abounding, as this catalogue does in diacritical marks the errata that we have been able to note are marvelously few. Mr J. Allan, who was so kind as to correct the proof sheets, and the staff of the Clarendon Press have between them produced a work remarkably free from typographical blemishes. On page xli, line 35, the "1166" should read "1136." The regnal year on the reverse of coin No 3004, should be not ۹۶۱ but ۹۶۸ see the representation of this coin on plate xviii. The "Kathiawar" on page lxviii, line 11, should have its first 'a' long and also its 'i,' thus Kathiawar.

We should like to see 'Ujain' changed throughout to "Ujjain." This name occurs on the coins in two forms either as اوجین, Ujjain, or as اوجین, Ujain but Ujain with short 'u' and a single 'j' is neither the one nor the other. Similarly چینا پتی is Chinapattan with a double 't' and میهای پتی Machhlipattan compare پتی دمو = Pattan Deo.

The Akbarpūr Tanda rupees, Nos 249, 250, should have been entered before, not after, those from Agra, Nos 227—248. In the group of the four Khalifas given on page xx, line 23, Abū Bakr should stand first and Ali fourth. Should not the words حل حلاله be translated 'May His glory be glorified,' rather than, as on page xxi, line 1, 'Eminent is His glory'? On page xx it is stated that the epithets of the Four Khalifas are "usually," ابرہیمی, ابرہیمی, ابرہیمی, ابرہیمی. But these epithets are, if we mistake not found on Pathan rather than on Mughal coins, and surely the 'virtues' attributed far and away the most frequently to the orthodox Khalifas are those contained in the legends that so often stand in the margins of the coins of 'the Great Mughals', to wit

“By the Truth of Abū Bakr and the Justice of ‘Umar, by the Modesty of ‘Uṣman and the Wisdom of ‘Alī

THIS excellent catalogue by Mr Whitehead is the product of a rare combination of numismatic scholarship of a very high order with thorough going research and immense application, and we are delighted to be able to add that already within a few weeks of its publication it has been crowned by the Académie Française des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. That distinguished body of savants, adjudging it to be the best contribution to Numismatic Science within the past four years, has awarded Mr Whitehead the Prix Drouin. The late M Ed Drouin was himself a scholar deeply interested in the coins of India and that the prize bearing his honoured name should fall to one who has with conspicuous ability specialized in the field of Indian Numismatics is singularly felicitous. To collectors in India the decision of the Academy will entirely commend itself while to members of the Numismatic Society of India, it is especially gratifying to know that their much esteemed Honorary Secretary has been chosen to be the recipient of a distinction so honourable and so well deserved.

GEO P TAYLOR

London, 8th July 1914

143 REVIEW

W H VALENTINE *The Copper Coins of India Part I, Bengal and the United Provinces*

Coin collectors in India will be grateful to Mr W H Valentine for the second volume recently published, of his work on *The Copper Coins of Muhammadan States*. There is a tendency on the part of some numismatists to underestimate the copper currency and it is true that the majority of early copper coins, now obtainable, are in poor condition, and also true that their legends are generally brief even to baldness. Still should only the king's name and mint-town be legible, the coin thereby becomes a record, may be a valuable record, which neither the historian nor the coin collector should affect to disregard. Mr Valentine with a most praiseworthy diligence and enthusiasm has for some years now devoted himself to research in this comparatively neglected portion of Oriental numismatics. He has managed to obtain, or at least to handle, a very large number of specimens in copper, and has been careful to describe the many various types represented. By thus specializing he has rendered a very real service to all who are students of Eastern coins.

The present volume, dealing with the copper coins of

Bengal and the United Provinces, is but the first instalment of a work designed to record the chief types of copper coins that have at any time been issued in any part of India. So large an undertaking calls for much courage as well as much skill and diligence, and we trust that Mr Valentine will see the completion of a work he has so bravely faced.

This Part I naturally contains a considerable amount of what may be regarded as matter introductory to the entire series. Unfortunately a Table of Contents is wanting, an omission the more to be regretted inasmuch as so many varied subjects have been included in the preliminary 58 pages. The "Introduction," in the first four of those pages, deals with the more personal elements in the preparation of the book, and thus might more appropriately have been styled a Preface. Then from pages 5 to 29 we have a "History of India." This is necessarily the merest outline, and contains little more than the names of the different dynasties that at one time or another held sway over the various portions of the country. It is well, however, to have the sequence of these dynasties indicated so clearly as they are in the marginal insets. Next follow (1) chronological lists of the Sultans of Delhi, also of the English sovereigns from the founding of the English East India Company (2) the characters of the Hindūstani alphabet, both in Persi Arabic and in Devanagari (3) the numerals in Arabic, Persian, and Hindūstani (4) a glossary of words and phrases present on the coins also of poetical legends or couplets, (5) a note on eras, followed by a comparative table of the Christian and the Hijri years (6) notes on the weights and denominations of the coins, and (7) a list of abbreviations. It will thus be seen that a large portion of this section is purely elementary. The glossary will be helpful for reference, but both here and in the couplets the transliteration is faulty and the vowel marks are sadly defective. Surely one does not now a-days represent *ی* by *l* or *سی* by *see* or صاحب *qiranī* by *sahib kiranī* (p. 45), nor does one write Urdubihisht, or soubah, or fulas, or ray, or butayid.

How is it possible to transliterate *خليفة* as *khalifat* (p. 41) or as *khahfat* (p. 42)? Unless vowel marks be indicated with absolute accuracy, it were better, I fancy not to employ them at all.

After this somewhat extensive preliminary portion the book proper begins, pages 59 to 80 being assigned to the coins of Bengal and Burma, and pages 81 to 123 to those of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Here we have, along with further "history" of the districts specified, excellent lithographed Plates, twenty two in all, and facing each Plate a page describing in detail each coin represented. This is the really valuable portion of the book, and it is of quite exceptional value. The drawings of the coins, though lacking in shade, are beautifully clear, and much care and skill have been

employed in deciphering the legends. Especial interest attaches to the grouping together of the coins that issued from a given mint during entirely different dynasties. For example, we have the Jaunpūr coins of the Sultāns of Dehli side by side with Akbar's Mughal pieces, or, again, the Mughal coins of Awadh side by side with the Native State issues.

The well-known bilingual and trilingual paisa of the East India Company are exhibited on pages 71 and 99, and Mr. Valentine, after correctly giving the Persian and Bengali readings, adds that the same legend appears also "in debased Nāgri." We have often thought that this last character is just a crude form of Gujarātī, to which certainly the letters on the coins bear a remarkable resemblance. Thus the different characters would suggest that these coins were legal currency over the whole of India from Bengal in the East to Gujarāt in the West.

We tender hearty congratulations to Mr Valentine on the admirable work he has accomplished in this Part I, and shall await his later volumes with high expectations.

GEO. P. TAYLOR.

LONDONDERRY,

2nd September, 1914

144 A COPPER COIN FROM THE NAHRWĀLA SHAHR PATTAN MINT.

Last February (1914) I had the good fortune to find in the Ahmadābād bazar a copper fulūs of Akbar from the mint Nahrwāla Shahr Pattan. Coins of the Pattan mint are known in all three metals, but they are extremely rare and those hitherto published have all been of the year 984 H. On the rupee the mint name appears as Nahrwāla (*Note* or "Anhirwāla", *vide* the coin in the Lucknow Museum Cabinet.—*Édr.*) Pattan, and in the fulūs as Shahr Pattan. Mr. Whitehead, emending the reading that had been suggested of the legend on the gold *muhr*, Plate III, No 61, in the British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins, has shown that this *muhr* also exhibits the mint name as Shahr Pattan. The copper coin which I have now the pleasure to submit bears the date 985 H, and gives the Pattan associated with *both* the epithets Shahr and Nahrwāla. It thus records in full the triple name Nahrwāla Shahr Pattan.

The Obverse reads as follows:—

شہر پتی
نہروالہ
سر فلوس

and the *Reverses* as —

بلخ
 مشد
 می به صد و
 ۱۴۵
 مـ

Pattan to-day commonly called Kadi Patan, or Patan of the Kadi *prānt* of the Baroda State, is said to have been founded in A.D. 766. During the next six hundred years it witnessed many vicissitudes, capitulating to Mahmūd of Ghazni in 1025, and again in 1297 to 'Alau d-dīn's general Ulugh Khan, while in the first quarter of the 16th century it surrendered its proud position as the Capital of Gujarat to the fast rising city of Ahmadabad. It is interesting to note that the copper coins which in the reign of Akbar issued simultaneously from the mints in these two cities were of one and the same type. See Indian Museum Catalogue Vol. III Nos. 349, 352 and plate IV.

Tradition tells that Anhil was the founder of the city Pattan, which hence received the name Anhil pūr or Anhilvada. The latter form would supply successfully the variants Anhalwara, Nahalwala, Naharwala and finally Nahrwala.

Of Pattan in the zenith of its prosperity a graphic but exaggerated description is given in the Kumar Pal Charitra. It states that the city measured twelve kos in circumference while its wards numbered eighty-four; also that it contained a mint whence issued both gold and silver coins and that of the eighty-four bazars one was reserved for the money-changers. Of this coinage if it ever existed, it would seem no specimen has survived to the present day, unless indeed it be represented by the debased Gadharya then current in silver and copper but not in gold.

GEO. P. TAYLOR.



145 NOTE ON SOME COPPER COINS DISCOVERED
IN BALAGHAT CP

[With Plate XXXIII]

In September last a hoard of 740 small square copper coins were discovered in Mouza Bodanda Balaghat Tehsils and were forwarded to me to decipher Their interest seems to me two-fold they may serve to throw some light on the political history of Gondwana of which practically nothing is known until the coming of the Mahrattas they also illustrate very clearly the debasing of a type, in this case the debasement is complicated by the confusion of four separate types of coinage—of Gujarat Malwa Suri and the Mughal Emperor Akbar Unfortunately not a single date is discernible

Coins

1 Ahmad Shāh II of Gujarat

Obverse In square area قطب الدما

والدين

Reverse—

حليمة

[] حمد شاه

الموصلى

The attribution of this coin is not quite satisfying but it seems fairly close to the legend of I M C No 12a (Plate ix) There are perhaps traces of a date at the bottom of the reverse It is obviously a local coin but both this and the following coin seem to have been struck by some authority from the Sultan at of Gujarat and this is previous to the occupation of Malwa by Bahadur of Gujarat in 937 A H (=1530 A D) Dr Taylor in his paper on the Coins of Gujarat in Bomb A S Journal 1902 says that he has never seen square coins of Gujarat These two coins therefore have a special interest

2 Mahmūd Shah III of Gujarat

Obverse—ناصر الدنيا والدين

[ابو] الفتح

المنان

الواثق بالله

Reverse —In a circle السلطان

بن لطيف شاه

محمد د شاه

For the inscription compare I M C Vol II, No 80 I call this Gujarāt type A, with reference to this hoard

3 As No 2 but corrupt *Type B*

4 *Obverse* The Kalima—as arranged in Akbar's early issues محمد at the foot of the coin

Reverse—

محمد
سلطان
—
حلد الله ملكه

Type C This is a confusion with No 6 حلد الله ملكه is taken from the coins of Muzaffar Shah III of Gujarat On some coins there appears to be a mixture of this with the formula الله باله

5 *Obverse* —Corruption of

السلطان
—
السلطان

Reverse —As No 4

Type D Here we have a mixture of the legends of a Gujarat and a Malwa coin The curious and distinctive mark is probably derived from the Malwa coins of Nasir Shah Khalji (Cf I M C No 77)

6 Akbar

Obverse —The Kalima (early arrangement) surrounded by a border of dots

Reverse—

نادر شاه اکبر
عاری
حلال الدین

Surrounded by a border of dots

Type A By the fineness of execution this would appear to be the first coin of this type, but curiously the word محمد does not appear to be present on the reverse The design is evidently copied from the Ahmadabad coins This and the following coin would seem to have been struck by Imperial authority and one cannot help comparing them with the Mahmudis of Gujarat which start in 989 A D I do not think this type has been published before The only reference I can

find to them is in Jackson's 'Coin collecting in the Deccan', he says, p 21 'The Malwa (copper) issues of the Emperor Akbar of the same square shape as those of the Sultans are frequently met with'

7 Akbar

Obverse — As No 6 but no border

Reverse— اکبر بادشاہ
عارى
محمد
حلال الدين

Type B The majority of the coins in the hoard were of this type, a few coins had the mint marks—x on the reverse or 8 on the obverse

8 Obverse — As No 5 very debased

Reverse.—As No 7

Type C A mixture of Malwa and Mughal types

9 Obverse — As No 7

Reverse — As obverse of No 5

Type D The reverse variety of No 8

10 Jalalu-d din formula on both obverse and reverse

11 The Kalima formula on both obverse and reverse

12 Obverse —Corrupt form of Kalima

Reverse —Corrupt السلطان
السلطان

The reverse shows an interesting form of corruption, the line of dots being taken from the border of No 6, and confused with the single line of — in the Malwa coins

13 Obverse Very corrupt form of No 5

Reverse —As No 12

14 Sūri Muhammad 'Ādil Shah

Obverse— المعتمد محمد
ابو الله
السلطان ?

Reverse —Corrupt

Both obverse and reverse are copied from a type of Muhammad 'Ādil's coins which I illustrate, but which I do not seem to have seen previously published

Note—I only recognized the identity of this coin after the article had been written and the plate prepared—hence its position in the list



The whole style of this coin is like those of Malwa. But the obverse inscription is of Gujarat (Mahmud Shah III) except that *محمد* seems to be written especially on the corrupt form of this coin No 15. The obverse however is a corruption of Mahmud Shah Khalji's legend of I M C No 114

15 Corrupt form of the above

16 *Obverse*—As No 14

Reverse—

۱۸۶

This coin again presents elements from the Ahmadabad dotted border coins

17 18 Specimens of corrupt forms containing parts of various legends

From the weight of these coins not much can be learnt. One class of coins seem to conform to the 80 rati Malwa standard (= 140 grains) four specimens weighing 63 68 61 61 respectively. Three other coins weighed 83 80 81 which might suggest the 100 rati Gujarat standard (= 185 grains). One coin however weighed 119 grains and another 96. The 80 rati Malwa standard however was the prevalent one as 10 other coins gave an average of 54.5 grains. With the exception of No 1¹ these coins would appear to date from the annexation of Malwa by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 937 A H (= 1530) Gondwana in which Balaghat was included was of course an outlying district and probably only nominally under Malwa influence. It was a place of refuge for exiles. In 923 A H Jalal Khan who after the death of Sikandar Lodi had

¹ *قطب الدین* is also the title of Bahadur Shah. The coin may belong to him but I think I can make out *محمد* on the reverse and the legend seems to be nearer to the coins of Ahmad Shah II.

usurped the kingdom of Jaunpūr, fled to Gondwana after being expelled and being refused an asylum first in Gwalior and then in Malwa.

During the years 970-978 A H (1561-1570) Bīz Bahadur, son of Shajā Khān Sher Shāh's Governor, was in hiding in Gondwana. He had assumed independence and been defeated by Akbar. Perhaps coins like Nos 3, 4 14 15 may be connected with this period.

In 1561 Chaurigarh in Western Gondwana was sacked by one of Akbar's Generals and five years later Malwa was annexed and made a subah of the Empire. The modern Bilāghat was part of the Garha Sarkar¹. At this time perhaps were issued Nos 6 and 7.

I have been able to find nothing more recorded of Gondwana until Jahangir's time when the *Amī Akbarī* records 'From the time of Akbar's death the kings of the Dakkhin had been restless and Malik² Ambar had seized upon several places in the Bilāghat district³'.

Bilāghat appears to have been a centre of operations until this trouble was finally settled in the 11th year of Jahangir 1029 A H when Malik Ambar³ handed over the keys of Ahmadnagar and other forts together with the parganas of Bilāghat which he had conquered.

Conjectures based on find spots are notoriously hazardous, but perhaps we may infer that a large hoard of small copper coins like this was not likely to be carried far from the districts in which the coins were current. These were probably then the current coins of Gondwana from soon after the occupation of Malwa by Bahadur of Gujarat in 1530 A D. Mahmūd Shāh III of Gujarat, to whom No 2 belongs, began his reign in 1537. Gujarat influence in Gondwana during this period may be surmised until about 1570 (= 978 A H). Soon after this the Akbarī coins must have come and continued to be struck perhaps until the coming of the Mahrattas.

It may be noticed that whereas the Gujarat and Malwa elements in these coins have become very confused, in very few if any cases were the Akbarī inscriptions beyond recognition though they frequently appeared with a Gujarat type obverse or reverse. The date of the deposit might perhaps be conjectured to be about the end of Jahangir's reign.

C J BROWN

Lucknow September 1914

¹ It is called Sarkar Kanaauj in *Amī Akbarī* vol. II p 199 but I think this must be a mistake. There is no place Kanaauj in the Sarkar and on p 196 it mentions Garha as a separate state.

² *Amī Akbarī* Vol I p 41^o

³ Vol I p 336

146 A GOLD COIN OF CROESUS

It is not on record whether a Lydian coin has ever been found in Indian soil before this, but I am sure that a coin of Croesus has not as yet been found anywhere in this country. Only a few specimens of the coinage of this monarch have been discovered and have found their way to the various big Museums of Europe. The coin described below was purchased by me in October last in Mari on the Indus from a money changer. It is an oblong gold coin with rounded ends bearing on its obverse the front part of a lion and a bull and on the reverse two square impressions one of which is slightly smaller than the other.

I stumbled on a reproduction of a similar coin in Prof J. B. Bury's *History of Greece* (Macmillan & Co. 1902¹) where it is described as a 'Gold Coin of Sardis (middle of 6th century). Obverse—fore parts of a lion and bull reverse—two incuse squares.' I submitted the coin to Babu Rakhaldas Banerji of the Indian Museum who pronounced it to be a genuine specimen.

A similar coin is described in G. F. Hill's *Historical Greek Coins* where it is stated that although the attribution on this coin to Croesus is not absolutely settled still it is highly probable that these are *κροισαὶ ἑσταται* (*Kroiseiai Stateres*) i.e. Staters of Croesus². They are of fine gold and were struck in two standards: (1) The gold Shekel standard of 8.18 grammes = 1.6 grains and (2) the Babylonian standard of 10.91 grammes = 163 grains. Similar Staters were also struck in the latter standard. Prof. Bury states that the earlier Lydian coinage was of White metal i.e. a mixture of silver and gold and that Croesus was the first King of Lydia who struck coins in pure gold and silver. The coin purchased by me weighs 10.650 grammes = 164.75 grains. It therefore belongs to the Babylonian standard. Coins struck on the Babylonian standard were used for commerce with the East while those struck on the gold Shekel standard were used for commerce with the Greek cities of the Asia Minor.³

These gold Staters of Croesus are of special interest.

(1) They are the first gold coins ever issued as far as we know and superseded the earlier white metal or electrum coins. The proportion of gold in these Staters varies from 90 to 92%.⁴ Most probably touchstones were used for testing these electrum coins as they must also have been in India where

¹ Top of p. 41.

² p. 18. No. 1. See also Percy Gardner, *The Gold Coins of Asia before Alexander the Great*, p. 9.

³ G. F. Hill, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 19.

⁴ Percy Gardner, *The Gold Coinage of Asia before Alexander the Great*, p. 8.

the billon coins (a mixture of silver and copper) of the Pathān Sultāns of Dehli were current.

(2) They form the first State coinage, if they are really what they are taken to be, viz, Staters of Croesus. The wealth of Croesus was well known and the power of Lydia before its overthrow in 546 B.C., would be such as to win general respect for its coinage. In addition to this, they were a great improvement on the former electrum coins.

On the fall of the Lydian kingdom the Persian Darics (or Staters) and Sigloi (or Drachms) took the place of the Lydian coins in Asiatic commerce. The Persian Daric was a few grains heavier than the Babylonian Stater of Croesus. The device on my coin the lion in opposition to the bull is supposed by G. F. Hill to be connected with the cult of the Anatolian Mother Goddess. This motive is common in the art of the Near East.

It is perhaps rash to conjecture how such a coin reached India, but the find place Marī on the Indus is suggestive. Marī is situated on the left bank of the river, a few miles south of Kalabagh (which is on the right bank), where the road from Jhūlām and Rāwal Pindī crosses the river. About forty miles south of this place is Isakhel where the Kurram and Tochi Rivers join the Indus each descending from passes, which are very little known.¹ These rivers connect India with Afghanistan the former leading to Kabul and the latter to Ghazni. They are very difficult and little known, but may have served as trade routes in earlier times. More significant is the fact the Kalabagh is conjectured to be the northern boundary of the old Persian satrapy in India which stretched thence southwards the sea.²

As the coin appears to be in good condition, there is no reason why it should not have been brought into India previous to Alexander's conquest and have lain hidden in sand until recent times. It may be that one of the first gold coins ever issued had passed into the hands of an Indian and was hoarded, to be re-discovered within the boundaries of the old Indian satrapy after 500 years as the craze for hoarding gold in India is one of remote antiquity.

Croesus was the son and successor of Allyattes, during whose reign Lydia was at the apogee of her power. Croesus attacked the Greek cities of Ionia and Aetolia and subdued all of them except Miletus. The Dorian cities of Caria were also forced to submit and the empire of Croesus extended from the Halys to the Aegean. The fall of the Lydian dynasty was due to the rise of the Achaemenidae of Persia. Cyrus, the Persian, overthrew Astyages, King of Media, who had

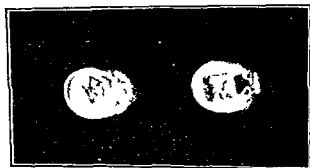
¹ Sir Thomas Holdich. *Gates of India* p. 512.

² V. A. Smith. *Early History of India* 2nd edition p. 34.

marned Croesus' sister. The fall of Astyages was a fit opportunity for the ambitious Lydian to turn his arm towards the East, the restoration of his brother-in-law being a sufficient plea. Croesus consulted the celebrated oracle of Delphi, and the answer returned was that if he crossed the Halys he would destroy a mighty empire. Croesus invaded Cappadocia. Cyrus drove him back to Lydia and won a decisive victory under the walls of Sardis, which fell into his hands after a short siege. The fate of Croesus is lost in mystery and fable. The story of Croesus, ascending the funeral pyre and suddenly remembering the name of Solon the Athenian, is well known. Nothing now remains of Croesus but some pillars dedicated by him in a temple of Artemis in Ephesus. The bases bear inscriptions "Dedicated by King Croesus."

I am indebted to Prof. Brown for helping me with some valuable materials in writing this paper.

MRITUNJOY ROYCHOWDHURY

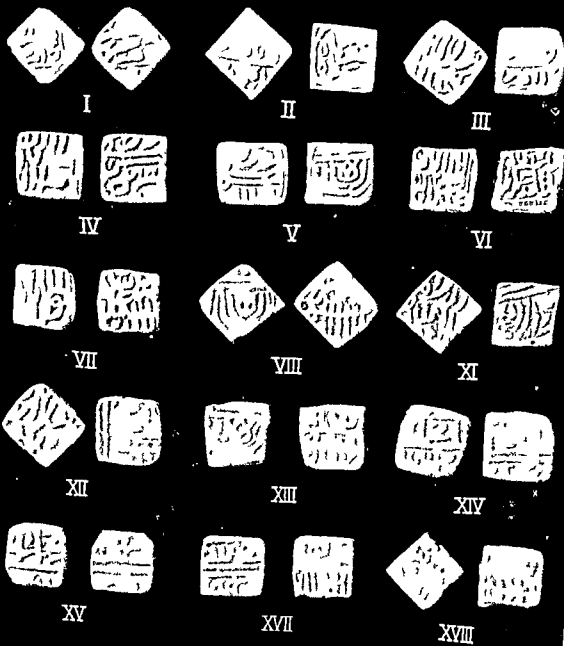


Note —The photographs of the coins from which the plates accompanying article No. 125 of N S No. XXII, published in the Society's Journal for May 1914, were taken by my friend Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, from casts, which he also prepared.

I may be permitted now to make the acknowledgment, which I inadvertently omitted from the end of my paper of his kindness and of the careful and skilful manner in which he has prepared the photographs.

Surat

A. MASTER



Note—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 488 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1914

147 FIRST SUPPLEMENT TO 'THE MINT TOWNS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS OF INDIA'

A paper called 'The Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India' appeared in the 1912 issue of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the Introduction I mentioned my intention of keeping the Mint Tables embodied in that contribution up to date by the periodical issue of correction and additions and hoped that collectors would help by permitting me to mention their unpublished coins. I now publish the first Supplement to that work.

The errors requiring correction fall into three classes. There are a few ordinary misprints which escaped detection when the proof sheets were read. One or two references though present in the manuscript remained unrecorded through inadvertence. I may mention the currency of Murad Bakshi issued at Sūrat. Lastly mistakes crept in owing to errors in published works which have been discovered since the publication of the Mint Tables.

ERRATA

- P 430 *For Mandisor read Mandisor*
 P 430 *For Hissar read Hissar*
 P 430 *To Awadh and Akhtarnagar Awadh add Suba Awadh*

P 435 *For ~~as~~ read ~~as~~*

P 436 *For Mr Rodgers at the time of writing said that the coin was in his possession read This coin was seen by General Cunningham in Lucknow in 1840 and an imprint of it taken*

This correction has already been embodied in a slip issued with the original paper. It is to be hoped that the coin is still in existence and that it may be traced by one of our Lucknow collectors.

P 438 *For Itawa read Itawa*

P 439 *Column Ajmer At line 5 insert G(1)*

P 451 *Anwala should succeed Anupnagar*

P 455 *For Balanagargadha read Balānagargadha*

P 461 *Under Bindraban the coins of Muminabad have been omitted. As Bandar Shāhi has now been shown to be a*

mistaken reading—see below—this mint should be deleted and the column devoted to Mūminīlād. The only entry is Shāh Alam II, L, P M

P 176 For Chitor, read Chitor

P 178 For Hisar read Hisar

P 184 For Deogarh read Deogarh

P 187 Column Sitpur R, line 8, delete L. This is a clerical error

P 190 At head of first column interchange R and E

P 401 Qanauj should precede Kabul

P 403 For Sitpur read Sitpūr. Also Sitpur should follow Sahind

P 431 Sikhal should succeed Sahind and Sitpur

P 436, For 'Azimabid read Azimabid

P 50. On this page is the mint-name Kiratpūr, which on page 429 is written Kiratpur. One of these is an error but I should like to see the coin before deciding which is the correct rendering

P 510 There is a reference to a Gohral copper coin of Akbar. This is a pure clerical error and should be deleted

P 517 For ~~شاه~~ Mustafa-abād read ~~شاه~~ Mustafa-abid

P 523 On p 429 I have mentioned Nahan mint as being somewhat doubtful though included but by inadvertence have omitted it from the actual Tables. One of the vacant columns should be devoted to Nahan mint which should really follow Nagor. The only entry is Shāh Alam II L R(1)

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

P 429 For Bikanir read Bikaner

P 433 My remarks on the Ajmer mint now require amplification. In 1913 I had the pleasure of inspecting the fine Indian coins in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris. Amongst them was an unpublished zodiacal muhar struck at Ajmer mint of quite a new type. I have illustrated this fine coin on Plate XXI of the second volume of the new Lahore Museum Coin Catalogue. A reproduction of the Sagittarius muhar at Paris bearing the name of Nūr Jahan of the Lahor mint is also on the same Plate. I wrote that this was the only known zodiacal coin struck at Lahor mint. But I find that a Capricornus rupee struck at Lahor dated 1036 A H is in the Berlin Museum—see La Revue Numismatique 1902 p 480. Mr C J Brown has just acquired a very fine Capricornus rupee bearing a Nur Jahan couplet and struck at Lahor.

P 435 PATTAN. Dr G P Taylor has recently acquired a dam of Akbar of year 985 A H which bears the full mint name of Anharwala Pattan.

P. 435 ZAINU-L-BILĀD A reference is invited to the Note on this mint in the second volume of the new Lahore Museum Catalogue, and to Mr A. Master's paper 'The Mint Town Zainu l bilād' in N. S. XXI.

P. 440. For Ujain, read Ujjain.

P. 441. Column Ahmadābād, *AV*, line 24, insert P.M. This muhar is interesting in view of Mr A. Master's recent paper on the Ahmadābād mint—N. S. XXII. Its fabric is exactly similar to that of the Ahmadābād muhar of Badar Bakht, struck in the same year.

Ahmadābād muhars of Akbar's earlier types are not rare but are quite unknown of the Hahi type. Otherwise all known Ahmadābād muhars are very scarce.

Column Ahmadnagar, *L*, line 4, delete B M. This is really a Nizām Shahi coin—compare N. S. VII, § 18.

P. 441, second footnote. Mr H. Nelson Wright has a couplet Ahmadanagar rupee of Jahangir, and also an Ahmadanagar rupee of the usual Hahi type.

P. 446 Column Aḡamnagar, *R*, line 11, insert XXII.

P. 448 Column Akbarnagar, *L*, line 7, insert Cabinet de France, line 14 delete B M. The latter coin is really of Jahangirnagar mint.

In line 1 *AV*, insert J P (Collection of Mr Jagat Prasad, Post Office and Telegraph Department Delhi).

P. 451 Column Sūba Awadh, *At*, line 24, insert C J B (Cabinet of Mr C J Brown, Lucknow).

P. 454 Column Balapur, *Æ*, line 20 insert B M.

P. 455 A copper coin of Akbar of Budion mint has been published in Mr W. H. Valentine's 'The Copper Coins of India', Spink & Son, 1914.

P. 457 Column Burhanpūr, *Æ*, line 4 insert T.

Column Bareilly *AV*, line 11 insert B. Gold coins of Bareilly mint are very rare.

P. 458 For بیکانر Bikanir, read بیکانر Bikaner.

P. 459 Column Balwantnagar, *Æ*, line 24, insert B M.

P. 460 Column Bindraban Muminabad, *Æ*, line 24, insert Ca.

P. 461 The mint-name Bandir Shahi has been shown to be an erroneous reading, the real mint being Srīnagar—see the new Lahore Museum Coin Catalogue, Vol. II, pages xcvi and 95. It should be deleted, and the column devoted to Mūminābad—see above.

P. 462 For Bahadurpattan read Bahādurpattan.

Column Bahadurgarh, *Æ*, line 16, insert VI.

P. 463 For Bharatpūr read Bhartpūr.

For Bharioch, read Bharūch.

Column Bhārūch, *R*, line 24, insert T.

P. 465 Bairata silver coins should be attributed to a new

mint Barār, to which one of the supplementary empty columns should be devoted. The only entries relate to Akbar and Jahangir. See N S XXIII, §135. Barār should really succeed Budaon.

P 466 *Column Pīnīpat, Æ, line 24, insert B M* Mr C J Brown has pointed out that the epithet should read *پنپت* instead of *پنپ*—see the second volume of the new Lahore Museum Catalogue p lx. I accept this emendation.

P 467 *Column Patna, A, line 16, delete B M* This coin is of Sahind mint.

Column Purbandar, Æ, line 16, insert P M

P 469 *Column Tatta, A, line 1, insert P M* Also in same column, Æ line 20, insert L M.

P 473 *Column Junagarh, A, line 8, insert N S XVI* Attention is called to Dr G P Taylor's monograph on the coins of Jūnagarh in N S XIX. *Column Jahāngirnagar, A, line 14, insert B M* This coin from the Bleasby Collection, was incorrectly attributed to Akbarnagar mint—see above.

P 475 I have stated that all known coins of Champānīr mint are of date A H 942—see second volume of the new Lahore Museum Catalogue p lxx. Mr Nelson Wright has a new type of copper coin dated 943.

P 476 *For Chinapattan, read Chinipattan*

P 488 *Column Sādnagar, A, line 16, insert L M*

P 489 *Column Surat, Æ line 4 replace P M by R(1)*

Column Sūrat line 9 A and Æ, insert B M and I (Roman numeral) respectively.

Column Surat, line 11, Æ, delete T(2) A characteristic feature of the Sūrat mint is that half rupees of nearly every Emperor and claimant issued from it.

P 490 *Column Sāharanpur A, line 24 insert B*

P 491 *Column Shahjahanabad Æ line 7 delete XV* This coin is really of Akbarabad mint. See Mr W H Valentine's 'The Copper Coins of India,' Part I p 94, number 39.

Column Shahjahanabad Æ, line 11 I regard this entry as doubtful.

Column Shahjahanabad, Æ line 16 insert P L (Collection of Mr Panna Lal ICS, Moradabad U P)

P 497 *Column Farrukhabad, A, line 16, insert W* Also A, line 22 insert Ca.

P 498 *Column Firozgarh, A, line 16 insert XXII, §130*

P 499 *Column Qandahar, A, line 4, delete B M, do, Æ, line 4, insert P M*

P 500 *Column Kabul, Æ, line 17, insert Sut* (Collection of Mr R Sutcliffe Burnley, England)

Column Kabul A, line 22, delete L M This is really a coin of Aurangzeb.

P 501 *Column Katak, A, line 3, insert B M*

P 503 *Column Kashmir, A, line 5, insert D C* I recommend this entry on the sole authority of the Da Cuñha Salo Catalogue which records the existence of a gold zodiacal coin of Kashmir mint bearing the names of Jahāngir and Nūr Jahan

P. 504 *Column Kora, A, line 17, insert Wh. Also line 22, A, insert I M*

P 505 *Kambāyat* Readers are referred to Dr G P Taylor's monograph on the coins of Cambay—see N S XX, § 119

Also line 20, A insert Ca

P. 506 *Column Gulbarga, A, line 14* This entry is doubtful

P 509 *Column Gorakpūr A, line 7, insert W*

P. 513 *For Machhlipatan read Machhlipattan*

Column Machhlipattan, A, line 22, delete P M and insert Cabinet de France

P 517 *Column Muazzamabad A, line 14, insert B M* See Mr W H Valentine's 'The Copper Coins of India', Part I, p 102 number 161 *Also A, line 16 insert L M*

P 520 *Column Mūngir, V line 24 insert B*

P 522 *Column Narnol A line 4 insert Wh*

I have lately acquired a full dam of Gwalhar mint of type Indian Museum Catalogue Plate IV 445, which shows that the epithet preceding قلعه so far unread, is in all probability قلعه. This reading is fortified by the fact that Mr C J Brown has independently arrived at the same conclusion

Full tankas of Akbar were formidable copper pieces weighing 640 grains and are now very scarce. They are known of the following mints—Ahmadabad, Agra, Bairata, Delhi, and Gobindpur. Those of Ahmadabad mint are described and illustrated in Dr G P Taylor's 'The Coins of Ahmadabad,' Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R A S 1900. The cover of Mr W H Valentine's 'The Copper Coins of India' is ornamented with the reproduction of a full tanka of Agra mint, the coin itself being in the Lahore Museum. Dr White King also had one of the same year and month. Similar pieces of Bairata mint are in the Indian and the Lahore Museums. A very fine full tanka of Delhi mint is described and illustrated in Mr C J Rodgers' paper 'Copper Coins of Akbar', J A S B 1880. It is of year 43, month D1, and is probably the earliest known of this heavy currency. As far as I know the coin is still unique. I cannot say where it is now, but it belonged to the late Sir Denzil Ibbetson. Full tankas of Gobindpur mint are in the Cabinet of Mr H Nelson Wright.

The dam was identical in weight with the half tanka, but in only one case does the dam currency bear its denomi-

national epithet—see the second volume of the new Lahore Museum Catalogue, p 94 Double dams, corresponding in weight and size with the full tankas, are even rarer I can refer numismatists to three specimens A heavy dam of Islam Shah Suri was published in Mr H Nelson Wright's paper 'The Coins of the Pathan Sultans of Dehli', J R A S, 1900

There is a double dam of Jahangir of Barrata mint in the Cabinet of Mr H Nelson Wright The third specimen is the Shah Jahan coin of Lucknow mint in the Indian Museum Each of these three coins is unique as far as I know

The mint of a rupee of Shah 'Alam II in the Bleasby Collection dated 1218 A H 40 R, was tentatively read as Daru z-zafir Zainabad A duplicate already existing in the British Museum had been labelled Sirdhana by Prinsep without any further remark Sirdhana is in the Meerut District, and belonged at one time to the Begam Somru Perhaps readers familiar with the locality and the period can throw further light on the matter

It may be stated as a general rule that the Mughal copper currency was quite different in type weight and size from that in gold and silver Yet we occasionally get pieces in copper struck from silver dies These may have been intended to satisfy a temporary or urgent need or were trial pieces Or it is possible that some were at one time plated The Burhanpur copper coin of Jahangir and the Tatta copper piece of Muhammad Shah are really copper rupees Several of the copper issues of Shah 'Alam II are of the silver type e.g. pieces of Muradabad and Mumnabad Bindraban mints

On p xxxv of the new Lahore Museum Catalogue volume two, I wrote that I did not know of the existence of large money bearing the denominations *khair qabul* or *nur afshān* from the Ahmadabad mint I have since found that Dr G P Taylor possesses a beautiful little Ahmadabad *khair qabul*

While the proofs of this paper have been passing through the Press I am able to supply the following supplementary information

P 453 Column Aus. L line 16 insert Kot (Collection of Mr C E Kotwall, Bombay)

P 454 The copper coins of Elchpur mint are in general shapeless and dateless pieces of poor workmanship and almost invariably display only a part of the complete legend Major Wolseley Haig recorded a note on a large find of Elchpur copper coins and attributed them to the reigns of the emperors denoted in the Table I have scrutinised the plate illustrating his paper, and where dates are absent am not convinced that the coins should be attributed to so many reigns I have entered the coin of Shah Jahan on the sole authority of the Leggett Sale Catalogue

P 157 Column Bareilly, *N*, line 8, insert J P (see above)

P 167 Column Purbundar, *N*, line 11, insert W Mr R Burnell offers a specimen

P 169 Column Toragal, *N*, line 16 insert W

P 189 Column Surat, *N*, line 9, insert P L (see above)

P 116 Column Muradabad L line 24 insert P I (see above)

At the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Lucknow on the 29th January 1915 Mr Panua Lal ICS exhibited an unusually fine rupee of Akbar of Pattan mint which showed that the correct marginal inscription is Dar Shahr Anharwala Pattan. Pattan rupees of Akbar were first published by Lt Colonel Vost, IMS, in 1851. He had not good specimens to work upon and read the mint name as Naharwala Pattan.

R B WHITEHEAD

148 TWO MUQJAL COPPER COINS

A *Shah Jahān*

Metal—copper

Mint—Ilahabad

S 7 inches = 19 centimetres

W 315 grains

Date 1019 A H

Obverse

شاه جهان
فلوس

Reverse

الله اباد
۱۰۱۹

An Ilahabad copper coin of Shahjahan is mentioned in Dr White King's sale catalogue

B *Farrukhsijar*

Metal—copper

Mint—Shah [J]ahanabad?

S 8 inches = 21 centimetres

W

Provenance—Muradabad

Obverse

ناد سا
 —————
 روح سیر

Reverse

سا
 —————
 صر

Copper coins of Farrukhsiyar are known of Ahmadabad, Akbarabad, Bijapur, Sūrat, Sholapūr, Kabul, Machhlipattan, but none of Shahjahanabad, though gold and silver coins of that mint are known

This specimen is worn and only the word *Shāh* can be read. Other Mughal mints beginning with شاه are Shahabad and Shahgarh (Kanaug) neither of which are mints of Farrukhsiyar

PANNA LALL, ICS

B

A



149 THE ZOROASTRIAN DEITY "ARDOŠHR" OR "ARDVIŠHR" ON INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS

Dr M Aurel Stein in his admirable article on the 'Zoroastrian Deities on Indo Scythian coins' published in 1887 London, has supplied us with very interesting descriptions of these coins

Formerly there were a great many incorrect readings on these coins, for instance the legends KANHPKI, OOHPKI, KOPANO, PAO PAO VINO PAO etc, formerly read as Kanarki, Ooharki, Korano, Rao, Raonanorao, etc, now read as *Kanishka, Hvishka, Koshano, Shā Shāhanshāh* etc

Some of his readings are summarized as follows —

MIPO	}	= Mīhr = Sun god
MIPO		
MAO		= Māh = Moon god

[VS]

ΟΑΔΟ	= Vata = Vada = Wind god
ΑΘΡΟ	} = Athsho = Fire-god.
ΑΘΥΡΟ	
ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ	= Verethraghna = War god
ΠΑΟΡΗΟΡΟ	= Shahrevar = genius of metals.
ΟΑΝΙΝΔΟ	= Vananti = Female genius (star).
ΤΕΙΡΟ	= Tir = Archangel representing 4th Zoroastrian month
ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ	= Ashaeikhsho
	= Ashavahishto.
	= Zoroastrian Archangel Ardibahisht

Among some of the puzzling legends, Dr Stein finds ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ occurring on some of the Indo-Scythian coins. An idea has recently struck me that this legend can be read as *ardoshur* = *ardishur* the female deity, goddess of sea, *Avan Ardashur*

ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ

a r d u š h šh (*Iza/at*)

I hope some numismatist will be able to throw further light on this suggestion

FRANJEE JAMASJEE THANAWALLA

150 A NEW COUPLET MUHAR OF NURU D-DIN JAHANGIR, MUGHAL EMPEROR OF INDIA.

I have recently acquired a heavy round muhar of Jahangir, described below —

Metal Gold

Mint Agra

Date 1019 A H, and year of reign 5

Weight 195 English grains

Diameter 1.05 inch

FIG 1

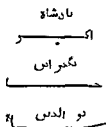
Obverse

In a multifoil flowered area enclosed in a double circle with dots between

مہر شاہ جہاں
شاہ جہاں
رد ناگہ

Reverse

In area as on obverse



1-19

The couplet formed by the obverse and reverse legends runs thus —

رد ناگز مسکه شاهے نور در مهر ماه
 شاه نور الدین جهانگیر اس اکبر بادشاہ

Translation

Struck in Agra the royal coin on gold in the month of *Muhr*

(By) *Sháh Nuru d dín Jahangír* son of *Akbar Badshah*

This coin contains the word *Sillah*, *shah*, which is not found on any of *Jahangír's* couplet *muhars* or *rupees* in published catalogues

The coin is somewhat worn, hence the illustration is from a drawing not from a cast

FRANJEE JAMASJEE THANAWALLA

Bombay, 16th January, 1915



151 THE LAKHNAU MINT

[With Plates XIII XV]

"Lakhnau is a large city, on the banks of the Gumti delightful in its surroundings," says Abu'l-lazl and indeed little more is to be said of it during Mughal times. Its importance both as a city and a mint came later. Still this much we can gather from the scanty records of historians that, situated as it was in the most fertile province of Northern Hindustan, and standing away from the main roads between the capitals of the Empire, it was continually, like Jaunpur, the spot fixed upon by the disaffected "to raise the herd of rebellion"—a black shop of sedition—a city of refuge for such as were under the ban of the court. The origin of the name has never been satisfactorily settled. Some would find it in an ancient village site Lakhmanpūr (Lakhshmanavati) supposed to have been founded by the legendary Lakhman brother of Rām Chandra near an orifice within the present Machchhi Bhawan which led down the abode of Sesnag—a thousand-headed snake which supports the world on its head. The name Lakhman Tila (= Lakhman's Hill) survived until quite recent times.

Others prefer the derivation from Qila Lakhnā derived from an Ahir architect Lakhna who is supposed to have planned the fort for the Sheikhs who settled in the town in the 13th century. Both are almost certainly incorrect but they point to the earliest site of the city. The earliest Muhammadan settlers came in the 13th century, the Sheikhs from Bynaur afterwards famous as the Sheikhsidas and the Qidwāi Sheikhs of Jāglaur. In 1474 A.D. (884 A.H.) died the most famous inhabitant of Lakhnau in pre-Nawabi times Sheikh Muhammad, alias Shāh Mīna son of Sheikh Qutub pupil of a famous saint Sheikh Qiyamuddin Hajī who had arrived in Lakhnau in 1396. The name Minanagar properly applied to a muhalla, was once applied to the whole city.

Lakhnau formed part of the dominions of the Sharqi Kings of Jaunpūr, but in the year of Shāh Mīna's death it was reconquered by Bahlol Lodi.

When Babur entered India his son Humayūn captured the city in 1526 A.D. (933 A.H.) but abandoned it the same year, and it was recaptured by Babur in 935-6 A.H. when the very interesting coin (No. 1) must have been struck. A legend relating to this period testifies to the size and wealth of the place—it is said that in 1540 A.D. (947-48 A.H.) when Humayūn was retreating from Jaunpur, he stopped four hours at Lakhnau and that in that short time the Sheikhs collected for him Rs. 10,000 and fifty horses. Sher Shāh first instituted a mint for copper in Lakhnau and the coining was continued by Akbar until at least as late as the thirty-seventh year of his reign, 1000 A.H. During the early years of the reign the

intrigues of 'Alī Qulīkhan, the Khan Zaman, were carried on in the district, though there is no record of the emperor's having visited the city in person until 971 A H (1563-64 A D) when he was engaged in quelling the revolt of Sikandar Khan Uzbek. He is said to have taken a liking to the city and to have had several muhallas built south of the Chauk, one of the gates of which is still known as the Akbari Darwaza. For about ten years Lakhnau continued to be disturbed by the restlessness of Sikandar Khan and Husain Khan Tukriya, some time governor. But in 980 A H the former "laid his head on the pillow of mortal sickness and departed this life" and three years later peace appears to have been restored.

From this time onwards until the Nawabi Lakhnau is scarcely mentioned in the official annals or the pages of historians. From time to time a member of the famous Shaikh family rose into prominence, such as Shaikh Abdur Rahim, an officer of Akbar and an associate of Shaikh Jamal Bakhtyar whose sister Akbar took to wife¹. Abdur Rahim was made a commander of seven hundred in the reign of Jahangir and died in Lakhnau. In 993 (1584) Mir Abul Ghais of Bukhara was given a jagir near Lakhnau and died of colic in the city two years later². Such were the events which alone served to enliven the tedium of life in the little town during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Subahdars, unless, like Jawahir Khan at the end of Akbar's reign, they were inhabitants, did not reside in Lakhnau. It is usually joined with Baiswara, the two forming a Sarkar under the control of a faujdar. Such a faujdar was Nizam Murtaza Khan son of Sadi Jahan of Pihani who was pensioned off in the twenty fourth year of Shah Jahan's reign³. In this reign the mint was occasionally worked, one gold, a few silver and a few copper coins being known. From the nineteenth⁴ year of Aurangzeb until early in the reign of Muhammad coins issued regularly from Lakhnau after which its place was taken first probably by the Akhtar-nagar Awadh Mint (Lakhnau or Faizabad) and later by the Banaras mint which for many years was under Nawabi control.

It was probably in the twelfth year of Aurangzeb, when a general order was issued for the destruction of idols and temples throughout the empire, that the old Hindu shrine in Lachhman Tila was destroyed and a mosque built over the site. Legend tells of a visit by Aurangzeb in person, but there is no record in the annals or the letters of Aurangzeb that either Shah Jahan

¹ Al Badaoni Vol II p 14

² M asr-ul umara II 564

³ Al Badaoni Vol II pp 353-74

⁴ Ain-i Akbari I p 469

⁵ Since this was written I have found a coin of the 14th year in the Lucknow Museum

or his son were over in or near Lakhnau.¹ The *Khulasatu-t-tawārikh* (circ 1695) and the *M'asiru-l-umara* (circ 1750) give the most meagre accounts of the city, and indeed it appears that "the Lakhnau Baiswara district was notorious for the lawlessness of its zamindars towards the close of the 17th and during the first seven years of the 18th century taking advantage of the Emperor's long absence in the Deccan and his endless war with the Murathas, every petty chieftain, village headman, and captain of roving Afghan brigands, seized villages, looted property and defied the local authorities. A few were put down after their mud forts had been besieged and stormed"²

Table showing the coins issuing from the Lakhnau Mint

	A	AR	Æ
Bābur		x	
Sher Shāh Surī			x
Akbar		x	x
Shah Jahān	x	x	x
Aurangzeb		x	x
Shah 'Ālam I		x	
Jahāndar		x	
Farrukhsiyar		x	
Rafi u d darjat		x	
Shah Jahān II		x	
Muhammad		x	

¹ On the information of Mr J N Sarkar who has also kindly given me much information on the history of Lakhnau in the 16th and 17th centuries

² J N Sarkar

*The Coins.**BABUR.*

Æ

1. Year 930—

*Obverse.**Reverse*

In circle :—

Within ornamented
oblong border.

W. ?

S 10

لا اله الا الله

۹۳۶

محمد

ظهير الدين محمد نادر

رسول الله

دادشاه عاري

Margin in segments
divided by orna-
ments —*Above—*

[باسلطا] ن الاعظم خاتان

ابوبكر الصديق

[المكرم]

عمر الفاروق

Below—

[خلد] الله تعالى [ملكه لکھنو]

[و] سلطان صرب

This coin was in the White-King collection it now belongs to M. Zouboff of Moscow, who very kindly sent me a cast of it

SHER SHAH SŪRI

Æ

2 Year—

*Obverse**Reverse*

Wt 319

في عهد

ابو المظفر

S 9

الامير الحاج

شاه سلطان

الدين س الدين

شاه

مرد و

صرب خلد الله

لکھنو ملکہ

L. M. C (u 712)

AKBAR

Æ

3 Year 963—

*Obverse :**Reverse :*

Wt 310

..

سہ

S 85

لکھنو

شمت

صرب لکھنو

بہد

می تاروہ

M.  under س P. M.

Years 963 M. X on reverse L. M.

966 I. M.

967 M.  on reverse L. M.

967 No. M. I. M

Note on Coin No. 3.—I have discovered two coins in the Lucknow Museum figured in the plate as 3a, 3b, which give two different readings for the obverse. Both appear to be of 967 A.H. 3a reads خطه above فلوس. 3b reads what I take to be سرکار or possibly سرکاری the latter is an entirely new epithet

١٤

Year 96—

Wt 159

S. 7

١

Obverse

as No 3

Reverse

as No 3

but final figure missing.

M X over نهصد

H N. W.

5 Year 981

W 292

S. 9

Obverse

لکھنو

فلوس

سرب

M ٤٤ in س

Reverse

یک و

هشتاد و

نهصد

سند

٩٨١

H N W.

6. Year 983

Wt 320

S. 9

Obverse

دار الخلافة

فلوس

لکھنو

سرب

M ٤٤

Reverse

و .

هشتاد

نهصد و

سند و

٩٨٣

M 

I. M.




Years 975

.. L M.

977 L M.

982 I M. (312 5)

984 P. M. (318)

7	Year 984	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
	Wt 316	as No 6	وچہار
	S 9	but صرف لکھنؤ	شہنشاہ
		M ۴۴ in S	نہصد و
			سندھ [۱۸۱۶] P M
	Years 985		I M (317 5)
	985	 on obverse	L M
	986		I M (320 5)
	987		C J B
	988	 on obverse	P M
	989 ?		L M
8	Year 984	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
	W 157	as No 7	as No 7
	S 7	No M	
	$\frac{1}{2}$		H \ W
9	Year 1000	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
	W	as No 7	اللہ [۱۰۰۰]
	S 9		۱۰۰۰
			سندھ ۱۰ M ZOUBOFF

SHĀH JAHĀN

N

10	Year 1051— 15 R	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
	Wt 167	In area of dots with	In area of dots with
	S 85	knots at corners —	knots at corners —
		The Kalima and ۱۰۰۱	نادرشاہ عارف
		in lower left corner	۱۵
		<i>Margins</i>	<i>Margins</i>
		top نصرتی امی بکر	left شہاب الدین
		right وعدل عمر	top محمد صاحب
		lower ہارون عثمان	right فرات ثانی
		left و علم علی	bottom صرف لکھنؤ
			P M

This is the only gold coin known at present from the
Lahnuu Mint.

R.

11. Year 1055—	<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse:</i>
10 R.	as No 10	as No. 10
Wt	but 1.00	but 11
S.	marginal inscriptions start at the left mar- gin	

I have a rupee, probably of 1054, in which the marginal
inscription on the obverse starts from the bottom margin

H N W

E

12 Year—5 R	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
Wt 610	شاه جہاں	صدہ
S 1.1	۵	لکھنؤ
	صدہ	صرب

I M

This is the only tanka known of Shāh Jahān

13 Year 104—	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
W. 309 5	شاه جہاں	۱۰۴۰
S 85	فلوس	صدہ
		لکھنؤ
		صرب

I M

14 Year 1049	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
W. 151	as No 13	as No 13
S 65		but 1.0۳۹.
1		C J B

15 Year —	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
W 309 5	شاه جہاں	لکھنؤ
S .8	جہاں داد	صرب
	شا [۵]	فلوس

Trace of date above لکھنؤ

C J B

c f also Rodgers' Mughal Coins, J A S B
1895, No 141

[NS]

SHĀH 'ĪLAM I.

R.

18.	Year—ahd	Obverse	Reverse	
	Wt. 160 (worn)	غازي	مانوس	
	S. 9	شاه	ميمنت	
		شاه عالم	احد	
		مسكه	سند خلوس	
		.	صرب	
			لكهنو	
				I. M.
	Years	1119	ahd	P. M.
		—	2	I. M.
		—	3	C J B.
		—	4	I. M.

JAHĀNDĀR.

R.

19	Year 1124—ahd	Obverse	Reverse	
	Wt. 174	صاحبقران	مانوس	
	S 85	۱۱۲۴	ميمنت	
		چهار	سند احد خلوس	
		چهارده شه نادرشاه	صرب	
		مسكه	لكهنو	
		نزد برمه چو		
				I. M.

FARRUKH SIYAR.

R.

20	Year 1125—2 R	Obverse	Reverse	
	Wt. 175	رد او ۲۵ [فصل حق] ۱۱	مانوس	
	S 9	شاه	ميمنت	
		نادرشاه و نوروج ميرو	۲	
		مسكه	سند خلوس	
		نورسيم و زر	صرب	
			لكهنو	
				I. M.
	Years	1124	ahd	L. M.
		1125	2 R. (رد in second line)	H N W.
		1126	3 R. (زد in last line)	P. M.
		1127	4 R. „ „	L. M.
		1128	5 R. „ „	P. M.

21. Year 1130 7 R. *Obverse :* *Reverse :*
 بحر و بر فروغ میرو
 بادشاه
 حق بر صمیم و زر
 ده لیل ۱۱۳۰
 سکه زد ل
 Years 1031 8 R.

C. J. B.

RAFI'U-D-DARJAT.

R.

- 22 Year 1131 ahd *Obverse* *Reverse :*
 ۱۱۳۱ رفیع الدراجا
 ..
 درگا شامشہ بحر و بر
 ..
 ژن سکه بھند با هزاران
- مانوس
 صیمت
 احد
 سندہ حلوس
 صرب
 لکھنر

C. J. B.

SHĀH JAHĀN II

R.

23. Year 1131 ahd *Obverse* *Reverse :*
 شاہ جهان
 —
 بادشاہ عار
 سکه
 مبارک ۱۱۳۱
- مانوس
 صیمت
 احد
 سندہ حلوس
 صرب
 لکھنر

P. M.

MUHAMMAD

R.

- 24 Year 1132 ahd *Obverse* *Reverse :*
 محمد شاہ
 —
 بادشاہ قار
 سکه
 مبارک ۱۱۳۲
- مانوس
 صیمت
 احد
 سندہ حلوس
 صرب
 لکھنر

P. M.

	Years 1132—2 R	L M
	1133—2 R	P M
25	Year 1135—5 R	Obverse
	محمد شاه	Reverse
	←	as No 24
	شاه غاز	but ه
	ك	
	سکه مدار ۱۱۳۵	
26	Year 1135—5 R	Obverse
	as No 25	Reverse
		شاه
		صوب
		ه
		حلوس منه
		صر
		لکھو

H N W

APPENDIX

The following coin from Mr Nelson Wright's cabinet is ascribed to the Lakhnau mintage but the name is not quite sufficiently clear in my opinion without corroborative evidence, to warrant its being included in this catalogue

27	Year 967	Obverse	Reverse
	S 15 (ringed)	In square with knots at corners — The Kalima (Suri arrangement)	In square — کدر باد شاه عا محمد
		Margins top — (reading outwards) صدق انی نکر right — نعم علی	حلال لدس ۹۶۷ reading upwards and inwards over حلا
			Margins left ملکہ lower سلط صوب لکھ [نو]

Note —Since writing the above the corroborative evidence has been found in a coin belonging to the Lucknow Museum (No 27a in Plate) It supplies the final و of لکھو It is similar in fabric to Mr Wright's coin except that it has a rosace as a Mint Mark on the obverse and is of the date 968 A H



I



II



III a



III b



V



VI



VII



IX



XI



XII



XV



XIV



XVIa

XVIb



XVIII

XIX



XX

XXI



XXII



XXIII



XXIV



XXVI



XXVII



Note—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p. 251 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1915.

152 THE ĀSVAMEDHA COINS OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

In October, 1913, the United Provinces Government presented to the Lucknow Provincial Museum some gold coins of Samudragupta found at Kaswara in the Ballia district. They included a coin of the Āsvamedha type which possessed a special interest in that the obverse showed somewhat distinctly a continuation of the hitherto published legend found on such coins. In March, 1914 I was fortunate in obtaining another specimen of this type which gave practically the full obverse legend, and I prepared a note on these two coins with a view to publication. But the appearance of a note by Mr Campbell¹ on the Ballia coin and another later by Mr J. Allan of the British Museum publishing the full legend with an interpretation in the Numismatic Supplement No XXIII, Vol X, No 6, 1914, pp 255-6 issued in October 1914, rendered it advisable to withhold my paper. An interpretation of the legend was however given in the Annual Report of the Lucknow Museum which appeared in June, 1914.²

In November, 1914, I obtained another good specimen of the same type from a goldsmith of Etawah. Though the obverse legend on it is not complete, yet the portion that exists is clear and well preserved.

In this set of Samudragupta coins of the Āsvamedha type which have recently been noticed by Messrs Campbell and Allan or are being published now there are at least two distinct varieties. Full particulars of Dr Hoey's coins are not known to me. But the specimens which I have obtained, i.e. one at Lucknow and the other from Etawah, are certainly struck from different dies. I publish both here, calling them A and B (A weighs 115 grs and B 117 grs only).

The style of lettering they display is different—the difference being more marked in the reverse legend. Pennons on the sacrificial post of Yupa, the *chowrie* as well as the sacrificial spear and the fillet are all differently cut. The beading on the reverse

¹ J.A.S.B. Vol X No 6 1914 Numismatic Supplement No XXII p. 174.

² Annual Report on the working of the Lucknow Provincial Museum for the year ending 31st March 1914 p. 3. There I read *prithivim*. I will not however add any *anuvāra* now, but make this word the first component of the compound forming one ep. thet viz *prithivi vijitvā*.

is also dissimilar. On both of these coins the syllable following the symbols for *vi* is clearly *tvā* and not *tya*. According to Mr Allan this is the case on the majority of these coins. Now the question is whether *viṭvā* is really an impossible form or whether there is any provision for it in Sanskrit Grammar? Ordinarily the formation of gerunds by the addition of the suffix *tvā* is not allowed if the verb is compounded with a preposition or ends in a short vowel. We add *tvā* to *vi* but *tya* to *vi*. It does not appear very likely that a mistake should remain undetected or be allowed to recur in numerous specimens. I am disposed to think that the form is quite possible and that Panini allows it under his rule *अनुस्वारोऽप्यनुस्वारो* ¹. According to this aphorism we can add the suffix *krāṇip* and get the term *viṭvān* like *prāṇitvān* ². When compounded with the word *prithivī* it will form one epithet in *prithivī viṭvā* meaning "the earth or world conqueror". There is no symbol for *anuvāra* on *prithivī*, and it is not at all necessary to read it with a nasal sound or make it accusative singular. In the circumstances I think the legend should read as follows —

Rajadhiraja (h) *prithivīviṭvā*

Divam jayatyahrtavajmedha (h)

¹ The king of kings the world-conqueror and the performer of the horse-sacrifice wins heaven.

Lucknow

HIRANAND BHASTRI



¹ *Aṣṭadhyāyī* III 2. 3.

² Cf. *Viṇayaśāstra* III 2. 3.

³ Here I can not refrain from pointing out that the stanza seems to have a doṣha (blemish) which a rhetorician would call *viruddha*. Mnatsert suggests an understandable meaning for it makes us think that the king has departed to the next world. Perhaps the implication will be stronger in the case of *Viṭvā*.

153 BILLOV ISSUES OF SIKANDAR LODI

The find of more than 5000 Lodi coins in the Hardoi district throws some fresh light on perhaps the least interesting productions of the Pathan Sultans of Dehli

Thomas gives an inscription on the reverse terminating in the words *بصرت دہلی* Rogers notes that certain coins in the Punjab Museum bear the word *حسرت*, but the Indian Museum Catalogue omits all mention of a mint

It has now been established that the reading given by Thomas is correct but only up to a certain point The mint occurs not infrequently, but only on coins of a distinct type These are the natural successors of the Dehli issues of Bahlol The script is similar and apparently all these coins contain a much smaller proportion of silver than the later issues of Sikandar Lodi The latter begin about 904 H when not only does the script change, assuming a peculiarly ugly and angular form, but the coins are of a different size being larger than the thick small coins of the reign of Bahlol and the early years of Sikandar There is an intermediate period from 900 H to 903 H when we find coins of a large size but of the old form of script quite different in general appearance however, from the early and the late issues

The curious fact is this that the professedly Dehli minted coins continue in a parallel series till 915 H at least the appearance and shape remaining unchanged The coarsely written larger coins which are obviously the basis of the *Sikandar gaz* to which Thomas refers, unquestionably have no mint name on the reverse Under the word *سلطان* I have found in several instances a portion of the circular ring which marked the outside edge of the die The obverse had a square double border with a loop in the centre of each side These are the coins which contain a larger proportion of silver as Thomas notes and I am disposed to regard them as a distinct issue to the Dehli series

They do not occur before 901 H and I offer the tentative suggestion that they were not minted at Dehli at all but at Sikandar's newly founded capital of Agra, where the royal palace was erected at least as early as 900 H

Of the whole find only one coin is unusual This is of 894 H the first year of Sikandar and on this the words *بصرت دہلی* come immediately under the name of Bahlol the word *سلطان* being placed in the same line as *بہلول*, and driven obscurely into a corner This coin has been acquired for the Lucknow Museum

H R NEVILL

154 A SILVER DIRHAM OF BASTHAM (VASTHAM) SASSANIAN
RULER IN KHORASAN IN PERSIA

In June last my friend Mr Cawasjee Eduljee Kotwal, of Bombay, stated to me that he had acquired along with some Sassanian dirhams a dirham of Firoz Bastham which he attributed to this king on having it compared with one figured as No 82 Pl VII fig 5, in Mr Edward Thomas's 'Sassanians in Persia' published in 1873

On my informing Mr Kotwal that his coin was unique as regards the regnal year on it, he very kindly gave me permission to publish the dirham. This coin of his resembles in nearly all respects the coin figured by Mr Thomas, except that the regnal year is 10 written دش instead of دش = 3

Dirhams of Bastham—seven in all—according to Dr A D Noyes, have been known of the following regnal years —

2 Dirhams of the regnal year	2
1 Dirham	3
2 Dirhams	4
1 Dirham	5
1 Dirham	6

—
Total 7
—

It has been stated that Bastham—more properly termed Vastham—ruled from A D 592-597. Now, by the help of Mr Cawasjee's coin, we can with certainty say that the reign must have extended over a longer period than the six years hitherto assigned to it.

Very little is known regarding the history of Bastham, as he is not reckoned as one of the Sassanian monarchs. He was a son of Aspabed, and a maternal uncle of Khusrau II. Both he and his brother Bindoe were instrumental in compassing the death of Hormazd IV their brother in law (sister's husband) and the father of Khusrau. Bastham was at first appointed Governor of Rei and Khorasan but subsequently on his becoming more powerful he revolted against Khusrau, and proclaimed himself independent King of Khorasan. He caused coins to be struck in his own name. His object was to invade the capital of Persia but before he could do so the vengeance of his nephew Khusrau (on account of the murder of his father Hormazd IV) pursued him, unrelentingly and he was finally murdered.

Bastham styles himself on his coins *Firoz Vastham* or *Vastham Firoz*, that is the victorious Vastham. Note also that Kobad II (Shiruiab) is on his coins called *Kavat-e-Firozi*, that is the victorious Kobad. The word *Firozi* is therefore a title and not a name, on the coins of Vastham and Kavat II

(Shiruiab). On the other hand the name of the father of Kobād I, and grandfather of Nushirwán the Great (Khusrau I), was Firoz. He called himself on his coins *Kadi Firozi*, that is *King Firoz*.

Description of Dirham.

Metal—silver.	Date—Regnal year 10.
Weight—56 grams.	Mint— <i>Rad</i> or <i>Rud</i> .
Diameter—1.25 inch.	

Obverse—Bust of king to right within a dotted circle with a crown crenulated behind, a crescent with enclosed star in front, and a star behind. Two stars appear in the field, and a star with crescent on each shoulder. The king has a close beard and lank hair. He wears a triple drop earring and a necklace of two strands. Outside the circle there appear four marginal crescents, each with a triple device in its bosom.

Legend.—To left behind the back of the bust (reading from inside, and from right to left) in Pahlavi characters

𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *افزود* = increase and a monogram 𐭥

To right in front of face reading from outside, in two lines in Pahlavi characters

𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥
𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *Firozi Vastham*, i.e. the victorious Vastham.

Reverse—Within a dotted circle an *Atashdan* (fire receptacle)—by European writers commonly called a fire-altar—with flames ascending in a conical form and at base two steps, on either side guardian mobeds (Parsee priests) facing front, and each holding in his two hands a long sword, point downwards. To right of flames a crescent, and to left a star. No crescents appear outside the circle.

Legend—To left (reading from inside, and from right to left) in Pahlavi characters=

𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥

= *Asra* 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 = 10, i.e. the 10th regnal year.

To right reading from outside, Pahlavi characters =

𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥 = *Rad*, or *Rud*

No mint monograms other than *Rad* or *Rud* have been known on dirhams of Vastham. We can, therefore, conclude that his authority must have been confined to some places in Persia at or near *Rad* or *Rud*.

The monogram *Rud* on coins of Vastham is applicable to the city known as *Shahrud* in *Khorasan* where Vastham held sway.

Regarding the history of *Khorasan*, the Hon'ble Mr George Curzon, M.P. (now Lord Curzon) in his book entitled "*Persia*," Vol. I, published in 1892 (page 180), says —

Khorasan has experienced a history of great and stormy vicissitude. Situated on the borders of Iran, it has been the perpetual theatre of armed struggle, and a favourite battle-ground of races. Its capital cities have alternately excited by their dimensions the bewildered admiration of Arab chroniclers, and have been swept off the earth, as though by a tornado, by the passions of conquerors and kings. It has been the residence of great monarchs, and the nucleus of mighty empires. At one time its name implied a dominion that included *Kharezm* (*Khiva*) and *Merv* on the north that stretched to the *Oxus* and embraced *Balkh*, the mother of cities, of which *Herat* was a central point, and that extended beyond *Kandahar*. Later as limb after limb was torn away, and independent sovereignties were created out of the fragments, its boundaries became more and more contracted, until the Kings of Persia would sometimes have found it difficult to say how much they really held of *Khorasan*. * * *

The mint monograms have proved a great puzzle to students of Sassanian numismatics, but thanks largely to the labours of Dr A. D. Mordtmann, Mr Edward Thomas, and Mr J. de Morgan, several of the mints can now be identified.

FRAMJEE JAMASJEE THAKAWALLA

Bombay

155 A RUPEE OF 'ĀLAM SHAH, SULTĀN OF DEHLI

Metal Silver

Size 8 inches = 20 mm

Weight 175 grains

(Is in a very good state of preservation)

Obverse

سلطان علاء الدین و الدین عالمشاه بن محمد شاه بن فرد شاه

Reverse

فی ریس الامام امیر المومنین حاکم خلافت

Provenance Dhanaura, District Muradabad U P

Thomas says in the Chronicles (p 338) 'The 'Āla-ud dīn bin Mohammad of the historians who is entitled 'Ālam Shah on the current money, succeeded his father in 847 A H''

This coin gives the full name as well as the title of the King

No other silver coin of this king seems to be known

Ālam Shah was deposed by Bahlol Lodhī in 855 A H

PANNA LALL



156 A RARE RUPEE OF JAHANGIR

Mint Ajmer

Metal Silver

Size 75 inches = 19 mm

Weight 172.5 grains

Year A H 1024

Obverse

۱۰۲۴
اکد
شہدشاه
ش
جہانگیر



to the left of جہانگیر

flowered field

Reverse



dowered field

In a very good state of preservation.

Provenance Mughalpūr, District Muradabad, U P

This coin was struck at Ajmer, apparently to commemorate the victory of Jahāngir over the Rana Amara of Udaipūr. It is well known that the ancestors of Jahangir had been unable to reduce the Rana of Udaipūr into complete submission. Jahangir resolved to make an effort. He says in his memoirs "Eighth year of my reign 1022 A.H., I determined to move to Ajmer and send my fortunate son Khurram before me, and having fixed the moment of departure, I dismissed him with magnificent khilats, and elephant, horse, sword, shield and dagger, and beside his usual force added twelve thousand horse under 'Azim Khan, and presented to all the army suitable gratification." The prince was entirely successful. "Pleasing intelligence arrived," says Jahangir, "of the intention of Rāna Amra Singh to repair and make his obedience to me. My fortunate son Khurram had established my authority and garrisons in diverse strongholds of the Rana's country which owing to the malign influence of the air and water, its barrenness and inaccessibility it was deemed impossible to bring under subjection." In 1024 the Rana Amra Singh sent his son Karan and later his grandson Jagat to pay homage to the Emperor at Ajmer. There were great rejoicings and naturally the coins commemorated the victory.

PANNA LALL.



157 TREASURE-TROVE COINS OF THE BENGAL SULTANS

A find of 100 silver coins in the Khulna district is of some importance. With the exception of one common coin of 'Alau-d-din Muhammad Shah of Delhi the whole find consists of issues of the early Sultans of Bengal, from Fakhr u-d-din Mubarak Shah to Shahabu-d-din Bayazid, thus covering at the outside a period of 70 years.

The hoard was probably buried soon after 817 H or A D 1414. There are none of the relatively common issues of either Muhammad or Mahmūd, and to judge from their appearance the coins must have remained under ground, in most unfavourable conditions, for a very long period. To clean them without defacing them was a lengthy and troublesome task. Although most of them are composed of relatively pure silver they were affected in many cases by decomposed iron and copper, while some were badly calcined. The most successful results were obtained by a brief preliminary bath in weak nitric acid, followed by an exposure to the action of dilute hydrochloric acid and iron filings, with strong ammonia as a final wash before polishing. The treatment was varied in some cases. Caustic soda is a strong solvent of oxide of silver, but it is most unpleasant to handle.

Many of the coins are extensively shroff marked, a feature that has been observed repeatedly in the case of Bengal coins, and few have perfect margins. This is particularly unfortunate, as in consequence it is impossible to determine the mint or the date in the case of types hitherto unpublished. It would, however, be unreasonable to expect to find perfect specimens of all new coins. Some are in fairly good condition, but it generally happens that the date or the place of mintage is missing precisely in those instances where they are most required.

The find includes, in addition to the coin of 'Alau d dīn Khiljī, 1 of Fakhru d dīn Mubarak Shah, 12 of Shamsu-d dīn Iltis, 31 of Sikandar bin Iltis, 42 of Ghiyasu d dīn Azam, 10 of Saifu d dīn Hamza and 3 of the usurper Shahabu d dīn Bayazid.

All the coins of Iltis and Sikandar are of known types, already represented in the Indian Museum. The cabinet gains several new dates which have been determined with tolerable certainty although it is a matter of no mean difficulty to decide positively as to the date on imperfect margins, especially in the case of Bengal coins where the script is often crude and the rendering of Arabic numerals is occasionally wild. The only rarity is a coin of Sikandar minted at Firozabad. This is of type E in general appearance, but the mint town is designated *البلدة المحروسة*, a term which Thomas gives as the normal appellation, but is not found on the specimens already in the cabinet of the Museum.

The interest of the find increases when we come to the coins of A'zam. One of the relatively common type B coins is minted at Satgaon, the words *عرصة سگانر* being quite distinct, thus providing the Museum with a specimen of the variety A mentioned by Thomas. It is also noticeable as one of the coins said to have been issued during the lifetime of his father,

although I consider that there is some doubt as to the accepted termination of the reign of Sikandar in 792 H. Four Firozabad coins of Sikandar are assigned by Thomas to dates later than 787 H., but the chroniclers are at variance and the dates given by Thomas have in some instances been rejected as wrongly read. That in some cases coins were issued posthumously is certain. The find includes two specimens of the 812 H. issue in the name of A'zam, noticed in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* in 1873. These were struck at Firozabad, the Capital, and apparently filled the gap between the death of Hamza and the assumption of full regal honours by Bayazid.

More puzzling is a coin of A'zam, of the ordinary Firozabad type, but with a characteristic script of its own. The date is given in words and it is indubitably later than 800 H. The unit is more like *مئین* than anything else but if so the date is inexplicable.

There are two coins of Jannatabad (type E) and in addition there is a distinctive variant unfortunately without a date. While the legend is unchanged the arrangement is altered so as to allow space in the centre for the usual monogram which represents the word Islam. I know of no other specimen.

In his paper of 1867 Thomas mentions as his type No. 2 a subordinate class of coins following the devices of the Mu'azzamabad coins (type D of the Museum Catalogue) but struck from less expanded dies and generally of very inferior execution. This class of coins, also assigned to the Mu'azzamabad mint, is quite distinct from the finely executed type G of the Catalogue, and occurs in two varieties. The larger and better kind has the obverse legend enclosed within a well-cut 8 foil, while the smaller specimens have in its place a rudely scalloped circle. These latter are debased both in character and in metal. They are little if any superior to the worst issues of Hamza and are probably posthumous, like the 812 H. coins of the Firozabad mint. The coins of this type, hitherto unrepresented in the Museum, are small and thick, so that margins have almost disappeared, while the proportion of copper in their composition is abnormally high.

One coin of this Sultan resembles No. 85 of the Museum Catalogue, though it is somewhat larger, the size being 1 1/2. The legend on the circular obverse is the same, but on the reverse, also circular, it reads —

بسم
الله امر
حلیقہ دہرو
المومنس

عوث لاسلام
المسلمين
حلد خلافة

There is no sign of a date or in fact of any margin at all. The legend is almost identical with that of the Firozabad issues (type H) of Sikandar, but I can find no similar coins of his son.

A variant of type A, No 66 of the Catalogue, is undated. It is almost certainly from Firozabad, but differs from No 66 in the arrangement of the bottom line of the obverse: the word 'Shah' following 'Ilias' and not preceding 'Sultan,' while the square on the reverse is larger than in the coin quoted and the margins are consequently cramped.

There remains one coin of A zam which is unlike any other type. It is small, the size being but 93, while there is no margin and both obverse and reverse are circular. The obverse is similar in arrangement to that of No 65. The reverse contains a long legend, the last portion of which I am unable to decipher to my satisfaction. A tentative reading is —

لله امر
دوس حليفه دسر
مدين
المر عوٹ الاسلام و
لمسلمين حلد خلافة
مهور اناد صرب
حصر ۸۱۲

If the reading of the two last lines is correct—and I am far from assured of this—the coin is not only posthumous but extremely unusual. The date too is blurred, and possibly is not a date at all, but there can be no question that the obverse legend is of no ordinary type.

The Indian Museum Catalogue deals with only two coins of Saifu d din Hamza, and both are of the same type. This type is represented in the present find by a posthumous coin of 814 H identical with that in the Museum. The remaining nine are all different, and so far as I can discover none has been published with the exception of the crudely executed issue noted by Blochmann in *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, 1873, page 259. This coin was then in the cabinet of the Society but is not shown in the catalogue of the collection in the Museum.

This coarse and clumsy type is represented by three specimens with minor variations. One resembles that illustrated by

Blochmann, but bears the unusual date of 810 H. The second differs only in having a double circle on the reverse, while in the third the single circle is scalloped. The mint name does not appear in any specimen and the dates are written in very attenuated and spidery lines on the margin. Possibly all these coins belong to the interregnum that followed on the death of Hamza and they cannot, owing to the inferiority of the workmanship, be attributed to Firozabad. In execution they are far worse than the Mu'azzamabad coins of this monarch, the first, I believe, that have come to notice. These and the others demand a detailed description.

- (1) Size 1 10 Obverse, as in I M C No 87 in multifoil
Reverse, in circular area, as in the coin mentioned

Margin ضرب هذه السكة في الاقليم معظم بلاد سنة احدى و

- (2) Size 1 Obverse in multifoil—

صف

الدنيا و الدين

ابوالمعاذ حمزة شاه

ابن اعظم شاه ابن سكندر

شاه ابن الياس شاه

السلطان

Reverse, in circular area, as in (1)

Margin هذه السكة في الاقليم معظم

- (3) Size 1 15 Obverse, in an eight-pointed star, as in (2)

Reverse Circular area, no margin visible, in very bold and large characters as in (2)

- (4) Size 1 16 Obverse, in square area—

صف الدنيا

و الدين ابوالمعاذ

حمزة شاه ابن

اعظم شاه

السلطان

Margin Names of the four companions

Reverse, in circular area—

امير المير

ناصر مدين

موت الاسلام

و المسلمين

Margin ضرب هذه السكة فيروز آباد ٨٠٨

(5) Size 1·07. *Obverse*, in a circle, as in (2).

Reverse, in circular area, as in (2) in small and very sharply cut characters.

Margin ضرب هذه السكة تسع و ثمانية

The reading of the date is doubtful, and the place of mintage has entirely disappeared.

(6) Size 1·02. The reading of this coin is very puzzling, the legend being most unusual. The following is merely tentative:—

Obverse, in a circle—

ابن الياس شاه
ابن اعظم شاه
العادل سيف ادب
و الدين حمزة شاه
ابوالمجاهد
السلطان

N.B.—The first two lines and the first word of the third are conjectural.

Reverse, in a circle—

يمين خليفه الله
صدين
ناصر اميرالمومنان
السلطين مكندر
الذاني خلد ملكه

If this is correct—and it is difficult to read anything else—this arrogation of titles by the feeble Hamza is amazing. The words in the third line are very clear. The coin is in moderate condition, but as ill luck would have it the unusual words are somewhat blurred. I should be glad of other suggestions.

There remain three coins of Bāyazīd I. All are minus margins, which is unfortunate as all are unpublished. Two of them are of the same type with minor variations in the arrangement of the letters.

(1) and (2) Size 1 14.

Obverse, in a circle—

الرحمن
المؤيد بقايد
شهاب الدنيا و الدين
ابوالمظفر بايزيد
سلطان شاه

Reverse In an enclosure formed by six inverted arcs—

المومنين
ناصر احمد
عوث الاسلام
و المسلمين
حلد خلافة

Traces of margin

(3) Size 1 12 *Obverse* in a circle—

لموريد
بنائد الرحمن
صهاب لدنيا و الدنيا
ابوالمظفر نابريد
ساعة سلطان

Reverse circular area—

ناصر احمد المومنين
عوث الاسلام و
مسلمين حلد
خلافة

Margin صوب خدعة السكة في

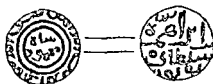
The find is both valuable and disappointing but at least it shows that much remains yet to be discovered regarding the coinage of a very obscure period in the history of Bengal

Etawah U P

H R NEVILL

108 A NEW COPPER COIN OF JAUNPUR.

The smaller copper issues of the Sharqi Sultans of Jaunpur are to be found without difficulty in almost all parts of the United Provinces I discovered not long ago in the Etawah bazar a coin of this series which as far as I am aware is of an unknown type Not only is it a blend of the larger copper pattern with the name of the king in a circular area on the obverse with the common small copper of Ibrahim Shah but it has the peculiarity of displaying on the margin the full title of the ruler Even the gold coins of Ibrahim and Husen lack the *julus* name but in this specimen issued in the first year of Mahmud we have the inscription as complete as that of any of Delhi sovereigns



Æ S 6 Wt 66

Obverse Circular area—

محمود سَا

Margin—سَا دِلْدَنَا وَا دِلْدَن نُو لَمْظَر

Reverse in a circle—

سَا اِنْوَالِم سَا

سَلْطَانِي

١٢٤٤

H R NEVILL

Etauah

159 A RARE COIN OF SHAH ALAM II



Mint Bisauli

Metal Silver

Size 825 inches = 21 mm

Weight 170 gr

Year R Y 14

Provenance Kanth (Dist Muradabad) U P

Obverse—

سَا دِلْدَن نُو لَمْظَر

سَا اِنْوَالِم سَا

سَلْطَانِي

١٢٤٤

Reverse—

مابوس
 —————
 ۱۴
 خلوس صدق له
 —————
 سو

Bisauli is a town in the Budaun district of the United Provinces. The earliest historical mention of the town is in *Ferishta* from which the following extract has kindly been sent to me by Mr H Nelson Wright: 'The King (Firoz) III appointed one Malik Daud to remain at Sambhal with orders to invade the country of Katehr every year and not to allow it to be inhabited until the murderer was given up. The King himself also under pretence of hunting, marched annually in that direction until the year 787 to see that his orders were fulfilled. In the above mentioned year he built an exceedingly strong fortress at Bisauli, 7 kos from Budaun and called it Firozpur. But the common people jocosely amid all the oppression they had suffered called it Akhnripur (the last city) and in truth it happened as they predicted for the grace of God did not suffer him to construct any more forts or to lay the foundations of new cities and towns, and consequently the fortress continued to be called Akhnripur' (*Tarikh-i-Ferishta* E D VI 299). In 1748 when the Rohillas usurped this part of the country Bisauli was placed in charge of Dunde Khan who built there several houses a mosque an *imambara* and a *serai* and lived there till his death in A D 1770. The only known coin of Bisauli is a rupee of Shah Alam II, of this period. It is mentioned in White King's Sale Catalogue the date being A H 1182 = A D 1768. It was probably coined by Dunde Khan. After his death his sons divided the estate and the country was in a state of anarchy owing to the invasion of the Marathas. They came in 1771 and retired only on receiving the famous bond for forty lakhs executed by the Rohilla leader Hafiz Rahmat and countersigned by Sir Robert Baker. The Rohillas were however unable to pay this sum and the Marathas consequently reappeared on the banks of the Ganges in 1772. Hearing this news Hafiz Rahmat marched to Bisauli and thence to Asadpur. Reinforcements also arrived from the Nawab Vazir of Oudh and English under Col Champion and the Marathas were driven back. The coin now published is dated R Y 14 = A H 1786-7 = A D 1772-3 and therefore belongs to this time. It was struck very probably by Hafiz Rahmat during his stay at Bisauli. No other coins of this mint are known.

PANKA LALL

160 A RARE COIN OF AKBAR



Mint Anharwala Pattan

Metal Silver

Size 1 inch = 25 mm

Weight 178 gr

Date 984

Provenance Muradabad U P

Obverse and reverse are of the usual Ahmadabad square area type

Margins right صرب

bottom شهر انہروالہ پٹی

An identical coin has been fully described by Col Vost in N S VI. I publish this only because that specimen was too imperfect to give a correct reading. The *ب* in the right margin and the words *د شهر* in the bottom margin were missing. Hence Col Vost took the *د* *شهر* to be the *ب* of *صرب*. He thus called the mint Nahrwala. As he says *Anharwāra* was founded by Ban Raj about A D 74. According to a well known philological rule the *ا* was corrupted to *ر* and the *ر* to *ل* giving us Anharwala.

PANNA LALL

161 AN UNPUBLISHED COIN OF AKBAR



Mint Surat

Metal Silver

Size 7 inches = 18 mm square

Weight 160 gr

Date Abin 38 Ilahi

Provenance Agra U P

Obverse—



Flowered field.

Reverse—



Flowered field.

“Surat on the Gulf of Cambay was one of the principal mint towns of the Mughal Emperors after Jahāngīr. The present fort was built in A.H. 947 by a slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt in order to resist the attack of Europeans, but the city had become a place of considerable importance by the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In A.H. 980 it was besieged and taken by Akbar, and a rupee is known of Akbar's Ilahi type with the mint spelt *صورت* (Lahore Museum), but the attribution of this coin to the Sūrāt Mint is not free from doubt.” H. Nelson Wright, *Indian Museum Cat.*, Vol. 3, p. lxxvii. The coin here described is in a good state of preservation and the name of the mint is properly spelt. The date 38 Ilahi would correspond to A.H. 1001. No other coins of Akbar of this mint are known.

PANNA LALL.

162. A SILVER COIN OF AHMAD I OF GUJARĀT.

In a short paper contributed ten years ago to the *Numismatic Supplement* (No. VI) I described five specimens of what I ventured to call “genealogical” coins of the Gujarāt Saḷṭanat. That name seemed appropriate inasmuch as each one of the five bore the pedigree of the reigning Sulṭān traced back to Muzaḥfir Shāh, the founder of the dynasty. These coins are extremely rare. Here in Aḥmadābād I have been favourably situated for the discovery of any of this type, yet *not once in the course of twenty-four years have I lit upon a single specimen.* Recently, however, Mr. C. J. Brown of Lucknow obtained one from a Lāhor dealer, and, as a Mālṡā coin was associated with it, not improbably both were originally brought from Gujarāt. The “genealogical” coin Mr. Brown has been so kind as to present to me, and I have now much pleasure in publishing a description of it. One

very similar has long been in the Cabinet of the Bombay Asiatic Society, but its margins are wholly illegible, whereas this newly discovered specimen is in excellent condition, with almost every letter of its legends perfectly distinct

Here are the coin's elements —

Metal ΔR

Weight 173 grains

Diameter 1 inch

Ruler Ahmad Shah

Date ΔH 835

Mint not recorded

Obverse— In square

احمد شاه بن محمد

شاه بن مظفر

شاه جلدی خلاندی

Margin, upper بی سده

„ left خمس و

„ lower ثلاثین

„ right وثمانین

Reverse—

السلطان الاعظم

الدینا و الدین

ناموس

بوالعین

The margins it will be noted bear the year of issue in Arabic words

خمس و ثلاثین و ثمان مائت

or $5 + 30 + 800 (= \Delta H 835$ corresponding to $\Delta D 1431$ 32)

Nearly all the dated coins of the Gujarat Sultanat give their date in figures but besides the specimen now described a few others are known that record the year in words these not Persian but Arabic Most of the coins of this class issued during the decade ΔH 870-880 Mr Master in a recent letter informs me he has specimens dated 872 874, 877 878, 879 and 87x

Ahmad Shah's father we note is styled on this coin Muhammad Shah, and his grandfather Muzaffar Shah, and these were their regnal names Before their assumption, however, of independent sovereignty and while still subject to the paramount Delhi Sultans, they were known the father as Tatar Khan, and the grandfather as /asaf Khan

In the absence of any mint name, one may, I fancy safely assign these so distinctively regal coins to the mint at Ahmadabad, the capital of the Sulṭanat and a city specially dear to Ahmad Shah since founded by himself and called by his own name

GEO P TAYLOR

Ahmadābad



163 A NEW MUHAR OF JAHĀNGIR

Mint Akbarnagar

Metal Gold

Weight 170 grs

Size 6½ inches

Obverse

اکد ساء

نگدر ساء

حـ

ورالد

Flowered field

Reverse

ماء سر

ر الهـ

اندو نگر

صوب

Flowered field

Akbarnagar was a fairly prolific mint of the Mughals for silver but of gold coins only a few are known. This muhar fills up an existing gap between Akbar and Shāhjahān.

JAGAT PRASAD



164 A NEW MUHAR OF AURANGZĒB

Mint Bareilly

Year A H 1113 R 4 (5)

Weight 169 grs

Size 85 inches

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
۱۱۱۳	مانوس
ارنگ مہ عالم گہر	مہمہ
شہ —————	(۵) مہ خلوس
رد چو مہر مہر	سہ
سہ —————	صرب
د جہاں	بریلی

The mint name has not come out complete on the coin but it is clearly identifiable as Bareilly. The Hijri year is clear but the unit of the regnal year is missing, the dot to the right of 4 apparently belonging to the ۵ of سہ.

No gold coin of Aurangzêb from this mint has been published

JAGAT PRASAD



160 A NEW MUHAR OF TAIMUR SHAH DURRANI

Mint Bhakkar
Metal Gold
Weight 167 grs
Size 8 inches

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
ار حور و ماہ	مانوس
سہ —————	مہمہ
چرخ می ارد و بقرة	خلوس ۱۸
ط —————	مہ —————
چہرہ نقش مکہ دہدور ساہ	صرب
کد —————	
دا ور	

2 NĀSIRU D DĪN MAHMŪD

Date Nil

Wt ?

S 9*

Obverse—Within double square—dots in segments

فی عهد الامام

المعصم امیر

المومنین

Reverse—Within double square

اسطان الاعظم

ناصر الدین والدین

والمظفر محمود

السلطان

This is of the usual crude type that one associates with the silver coins of this king and its weight is its main point of interest

3 MU IZZU D DĪN KAIQUB ĪD

Date 686 A H

Wt 56 grains

S 87*

Obverse—Within square—three dots in segments

السلطان الاعظم

میر الدین والدین

Reverse—Within square—four dots in segments

صرب بحضرت دہلی

فی سنہ ۶۸۶

و تمانین و ستماء

This coin besides being the only one of its kind and weight known is unique in its design. The mint and date instead of being relegated to a usually defective margin occupies with commendable clearness the full area of the reverse. It was bought by me in a mixed lot at a sale in London of coins belonging to Mr S M Johnston.

In the introduction to the catalogue of the coins of the Sultans of Dehli in the Indian Museum (vol II p 7) I mentioned that a single half rupee and two anna piece of this

sovereign were known. The latter which is also in my cabinet was published in I R A S., July 1900, p. 484. The former is the coin above described. I now find I was mistaken in calling them a half rupee and an eighth of a rupee. Their weights are 56 grains and 27.3 grains respectively. Both coins are well preserved and appear to have lost but little from their original weight. Taking the weight of the full *tanla* as 175 grains, which is the generally accepted weight though specimens exceeding 170 grains are hardly ever met with and 168 grains is a high weight, there need be no hesitation in holding that a coin of 56 grains in fine condition is not a half but a third of a *tanla*. Similarly the piece of 27.3 grains would be a sixth, and the tiny coins of Nasir u d dīn Mahmūd, Ghiyāsu-d dīn Balbān and Jalāl u d dīn Fīroz which weigh from 13 to 14 grains would be twelfths of a *tanla*, and not sixteenths or one anna pieces as hitherto they have been called.

4 SHER SHAH

Mint Agra
Date 918
Wt 85 grains
S 9*

Obverse—Within looped square

The Kalima

In the margin beginning from the bottom and working to the left

ابوبکر | عمر | عثمان | علی

Reverse—Within looped square

سلطان

سید شا

جلد اللہ ملکہ

۹۱۴۸

Margins—bottom

صرب اکر

left

السلطان

top

العدل

right

ابوالظفر

This exquisite little coin was till recently in the cabinet of Mr H. R. Nevill I C S., Collector of Etawah, by whom it was generously given in exchange to me. Thomas mentions a half rupee of Sher Shah of the same date, but records no details or

Legend

چرخ سر ارد طلا و نقره از حورشده و مادی
[یا کدیر] چهره نقش سکه تدمر شاه

The revolution (of the heavens) brings gold and silver from the sun and the moon that it may engrave on its face the impression of the coin of Taimūr Shah

The legend is the same that appears on the silver coins of Taimūr Shah. The year is coupled, according to the Durrani practice, with the Mughal formula for the regnal year. Taimūr Shah ruled from A. H. 1187 to 1207.

No gold coin of Taimūr Shah from this mint has been described either by Mr Longworth Dawes in his "Coins of the Durranis" (Num Chron 1888), or by Mr Rodgers in his Catalogue of coins in the Lahore Museum, or by Mr Whitehead in his Note on coins in the Bahawalpur Toshak khana (N. S. No. XI).

JAGAT PRASAD



9 NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XXVII

NOTE —The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 498 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1915

166 SOME SMALL SILVER PIECES OF THE SULTANS OF DELHI [With Plate II]

The scarcity of fractions of the silver *tanka* of the Sultans of Delhi is well known. They number possibly not more than a score all told from the time of Altamash to the end of the Suri dynasty—a period of over 300 years.

Of the following six coins five are from my own cabinet. The sixth a half *tanka* of Nasirud din Mahmūd is in the collection of Mr C S Delmerick late of the Opium Department. All six coins are so far as I know unique and are published for the first time.

1 SHAMSU D DIN ALTAMASH

(or Altamish)

Wt 83 grains

S 95

Obverse —In double square within circle—three dots in each segment

في عهد الامام

المستنصر اعمرو

الموصلي

Reverse —Area enclosed as on obverse but no dots in segments

السلطان الاعظم

شمس الدنيا وادب

ابوالمظفر شمس السلطان

This is the earliest half *tanka* of the Delhi Sultans known. It is well executed and in very fair preservation.

The circle exactly fits the flan of the coin and there is no room for any margin though probably the die contemplated one. The coin is of the type of I M C No 39 struck for issue in the cities of Hindustan (*biladu l Hind*) with its tantalisingly defective marginal inscription on the reverse.

mint name Where that coin is I do not know Dr White King also had a $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee in his collection of 943 H but of the circular areas type and without any mint name (J R A S October 1900) A fourth is described below I can call to mind no others Thomas records a half piece of Islam Shah without giving details I have never seen one myself or heard of any other An eight-anna piece of Ibrahim Sūr (weight 88 grs) was described and figured by the late Mr C J Rodgers in his 4th Supplement to Thomas's 'Chronicles' (J A S B 1886) The coin belonged to General Cunningham Half rupees of the two other Suri Sultans have yet to be found

5 SHER SHĀH

Mint (Shergarh)

Date wanting

Wt 83.5 grains

S 8"

Obverse—Within double square

The Kalima.

No margins visible

Reverse—Within double square

سلطان

شیر

جلد اللہ ملکہ

No margins visible

The arrangement and character of the legends on this coin and its general appearance leave no doubt that it is of the Sher garh mint—Cf I M C Vol II 645

6 SHER SHĀH

Mint Nil

Date 949

Wt 7 grains

S 4"

Obverse

[شاه]

شیر

سلطان

Reverse

الله

جلد ملحد

۱۴۹

This tiny coin is much worn, and may well have lost 4 grains. This would make it a one-anna piece. I know of no other silver Surī coin of this weight.

In order to make this paper a little more complete I append a brief note of the other small silver pieces of the Sultans of Dehli which have been published or are otherwise known to me.

(a) *Nāsiru-d dīn Mahmud*(1) Wt 13.2 grs *Obv* السلطان الاعظم*Rev* ناصر الدین ولدیس

Ref C. J. Rodgers's 4th Supplement to Thomas's "Chronicles" (J. A. S. B. 188b) No. 15

(2) Wt 13.2 grs *Obv* السلطان المعظم*Rev* as on (1)

R / C. J. Rodgers's 5th Supplement (J. A. S. B. 1894) No. 21

(3) Duplicate of (2) in the cabinet of Mr. R. B. Whitehead I.C.S. Wt 13 grs size 4"

(b) *Chīāzu-d dīn Balban*Wt 13.8 grs *Obv* سلطان الاعظم*Rev* علاء الدین ولدیس

Ref C. J. Rodgers's 3rd Supplement (J. A. S. B. 1883) No. 20. Mr. Rodgers said of this coin that it was "the only small silver coin I have ever seen or heard of of the early Pathans."

(c) *Mu'izzu-d dīn Kaiqubād*Wt 27.3 grs *Obv* السلطان الاعظم*Rev* معز الدین ولدیس

Ref J. R. A. S. July 1900. Coins of the Pathan Sultans of Dehli No. 7. This is in my own cabinet and in 1900 was the only Pathan silver coin of this weight known.

(d) *Qutbu-d dīn Mubarak*

Wt 6
S 45"

Obverse

السلطان

س السلطان

Reverse

شاہ

مارک

This is in the cabinet of Mr R B Whitehead, ICS

Bareilly

H NELSON WRIGHT

167 THE BIJAPUR RUPEES OF 1091 A H

I should like to say a few words about the rare Rupees of 1091 A H (24 R), which were "issued in Aurangzeb's name six years prior to the capture of Bijapur" by the Mughals (Wright, I M C xxxviii). Dr G P Taylor has shown in Num Supp XV, art 92, that there is no reason for questioning the reading of the date, and Mr Whitehead also has accepted the fact of the issue from Bijapur in that year of 'Rupees and half Rupees of Aurangzeb's usual silver type' (P M C lx). But our knowledge of the actual circumstances under which these curious coins were uttered is still far from being complete or free from doubt and surmise. Dr Taylor has described how that city was closely besieged in 1090 A H by Aurangzeb's general, Diler Khan (not Dilwar Khan) how the investment was vigorously pressed in spite of the noble sacrifice of Badshah Bibi how the regent Mas ud Khan begged for the aid of Shiwanji, and how the Mughal commander was obliged to raise the siege in consequence of the Marathās having cut off his supplies. Dr Taylor has not mentioned his authority, but it was evidently Grant Duff (Bombay Reprint 1873 pp. 126-130), though the same events are summarised with his usual skill in the despatchlike narrative" of Elphinstone also (Cowell's ed 1866 pp 646-7). Now Grant Duff says that

Diler Khan was compelled to abandon all hope of reducing the place" and that when at the end of the rains he attacked the open country and laid waste the Carnatic, Janardhan Pant completely defeated him intercepted his parties cut several of them to pieces and compelled him to retreat' (I, p 130). But if the result of the siege was really so infructuous and abortive as Dr Taylor's authority makes it out to have been, how can we account for this undoubted exercise by Aurangzeb of the sovereign right of issuing money? Dr Taylor offers us the choice of two suppositions. He thinks it probable that 'while the siege was proceeding and while capitulation seemed imminent the powerful Mughal faction in the city 'caused these coins to be struck

thinking to anticipate an inevitable surrender but he also believes it to be just possible that they may have been issued from some mint accompanying the Imperial forces in the field' Dr Taylor candidly admits that 'no sufficient proof has come down to us that the Mughal assailants did actually capture the city in the year 1091 and it is clear that under the circumstances the acceptance of some such hypothetical explanation is unavoidable. I am happy to be able to state that I have found in a contemporary Mughal historian a passage which enables us to dispense with either of these conjectures and which may be fairly said to be the sufficient proof for want of which they had to be advanced. It occurs in the *Maasir-i Alamgiri* of Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan which was written in 1122 A H (1710 A D) that is only three years after the death of Aurangzeb (Bibliotheca Indica Text p 8 Elliot and Dowson VII p 181). The author was Munshi Inayatullah Khan Wazir of Bahadur Shah Shah Alam I and a competent critic has said of him that although his style be too concise I have never met in any other author with the relation of an event of this reign which is not recorded in his history (Stewart Descriptive Catalogue of Tipoo Sultan's Library p 16). This writer says in the course of his narrative of the events of 1091 A H

پانزدهم ربيع الاول از عرصه دایست شاه عالم بهادر شاه نهم جامع بشمار متعاع
رسد که در بعضا و در خطه بنام نامی بلند نامی نام و سکه صاری در رب
مدم و در ورود ساطموساں بازگذا حاه و حلال سلیمان مدرکند بحای
آوردند *

[Bibliotheca Indica Text p 19^o]

On the fifteenth of Rabi I [1041 A H] it reached the Imperial ears (*lit* ears around which the messengers of good tidings were always congregating) from the memorial of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah that the Khutba had been in the renowned name [of the Emperor] in Bijapur and that the stamping of his auspicious coin legend had added to the lustre of silver and gold. The courtiers (*lit* Karsers of the Carpet) of the splendid and glorious audience-hall went through the salutations of congratulation.

It is perhaps necessary to add by way of explanation that Prince Muazzam or Shah Alam Bahadur Shah had some time before (11 Shaaban 1089 A H) been appointed to the supreme government of the Dekhan (*Maasir-i Alamgiri*, Bib Ind Text p 163) though the command of the army in the field still remained with Diler Khan (Grant Duff ib p 128).

Whatever the circumstances which postponed for six years the extinction of Bijapur as a separate state there can be now

no doubt that Diler Khan had been able in 1091 A H to extort from its ruler, at the point of the sword, the recognition of both these regal privileges—the *Khutbah* and the *Sillalah*—to which Musulman sovereigns have always attached an importance, which may appear to us exaggerated, but which is really based on the fact that in those times “Stamped moneys obtruding into every bazar constituted,” as Edward Thomas has forcibly put it, “the most effective Manifestoes and Proclamations that human ingenuity could have devised to make clear to the comprehension of all classes, the immediate change in the Supreme Ruling power” (Chronicles, ed 1871, pp 1 2)

S H HODIVALA

168 THE GULKANDA RUPEES OF SHĀHJAHĀN

The Gulkanda (Golconda) Rupees of Shahjahan have been the subject of some speculation and difference of opinion among students of Mughal Numismatics. Mr Nelson Wright finds it impossible to reconcile his reading of the date on I M C No 947 with the historical statements to which he attaches credit. Mr Whitehead questions the reading itself and is not pressed by the weight of the divergence, because no coins “have yet been found bearing a *legible date*” (P M C, p xcvi). Having quoted Mr Whitehead’s words, let me allow Mr Nelson Wright also to state his own view of the matter. “Under Shahjahan the Qutb Shahs came into collision with the Mughals, and in 1045 agreed to pay tribute and permit the *Khutba* to be read in the Emperor’s name (E D VII 51). Aurangzeb, when Governor of the Dakhan Sūbas, lost no time in picking a fresh quarrel which ended in 1067 in Abdullah, the reigning King, consenting to strike coins in Shahjahan’s name * * *. Of the Shahjahan period, four coins are catalogued but only one of them has anything resembling a date, and that a very doubtful one, for it would place the coin earlier than 1045” (I M C xliii).

It will be seen that the difficulty centres round the figure 5 which stands for the date on I M C No 947. If Abdullah Qutb Shah consented to strike coins in Shahjahan’s name only in 1067 A H, what does the ‘5’ mean? It cannot stand for any of the four digits of 1067, and it cannot be meant for the regnal year either, because the fifth year of Shahjahan was 1041—1042, and not 1067 A H. But is 1067 the correct date of the first striking by the Gulkanda ruler of coins bearing the name of his Mughal suzerain? I venture to say that it is not.

The terms of the treaty which Aurangzeb dictated to Abdullah are stated in Elphinstone’s History. They were that he was to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Muhammad, with a dowry in territory and money to pay a crore of rupees (£1,000,000 sterling) as the first instalment of a yearly tribute,

and promise to make up the arrears of past payments in two years" (Cowell's ed 1866, p 589) "He was compelled," says Grant Duff, "to give his daughter in marriage to Sultan Muhammad, and to pay up all arrears of tribute fixed by Aurangzeb at the annual sum of one crore of rupees, but Shahjahan, in confirming these proceedings remitted twenty lacs of the amount" (Bombay Reprint 1873, p 69) There is not a word in either of these authorities about the striking of coin in Shahjahan's name nor is there any in the verbose account of the transactions of 1067 which is given in the contemporary 'Shahjahan Nameh' of Inayat Khan and which can be read in Elliot and Dowson VII pp 115 116 But if no such stipulation was made in 1067 A H when was it made and how did these coins come to be issued at all?

The fact is that when the Gulkandari ruler was brought to his knees in 1045 A H he agreed not only "to pay tribute and permit the Khutba to be read in the Emperor's name," but to strike coins also with the Imperial titles The long and minatory rescript addressed to Abdullah by Shahjahan and the exceedingly submissive if not abject, reply are quoted with evident pride and exultation by the official chronicler, 'Abdul Hamid Lahori, in the Badshahi Nameh (Bibliotheca Indica Text pp 130-133 178 180) Both these letters are specimens of the most florid and artificial style affected by cultured Persians in official correspondence and have been left untranslated by Dowson whose summary of three lines is filled out with a meaningless, if not misleading etcetera' (E D VII, 51), and who dismisses the 'letter of homage from Qutb ul Mulk' in six words (ib 57) Fortunately the original text is easily available Qutb-ul Mulk first promises that he will have the Khutba read in the Emperor's name and adds

و پدوست تر در سراج و سفید سکه صدارت نه ا درگاه عالم پناه کنده
فرستاده اند می رده باشد *

[Bibliotheca Indica Text, Vol I Part II p 178]

'The red money and the white (gold and silver) will always be stamped with the auspicious coin legend, which has been engraved and sent to me from the Court which is the Asylum of the Universe'

The 'Ahdnāme' or Treaty itself is afterwards quoted, and there also we find Shahjahan saying about Qutb ul Mulk

و حوزة دراهم و دینار را نسکه صدارت ما آراسته و پدوسته ساخته قرار
داد که همیشه بهمن دستور در تمام آن ملک حکایت معجزانده باشد و در
را نسکه صدارت ما مسکوک میموزد باشد *

[Bib Ind Text, Vol I, Part II, pp 210 211]

"And [Qutb-ul Mulk] has promised that the faces of

dirhams and the dinars (silver money and gold money) shall be adorned with our auspicious coin legend and that in all parts of his kingdom, the Khutba shall be read in, and money stamped with, our auspicious name "

We may therefore take it for certain that it was in 1045 A.H. and not in 1067 A.H. that Shahjahan obtained from Abdullah not one, but *both* of those concessions which are regarded by Musulman potentates as the most direct and unmistakable proofs of supreme power. But if 1045 is the real date, the question arises, may not the '5' of the coin be the unit of 1045? It is true that the figure is not so clear as might be wished, and Mr Wright candidly admits it. But I venture to say that the above explanation removes the chronological objection he has raised to his own reading, and may help to finally solve the question if the reading can be substantiated.

One thing else is perhaps deserving of notice. It stands out clearly from 'Abdullah's letter that the dies of the first issues were not permitted to be made in the local mints, and that they were sent to Gulkanda from the Imperial headquarters with the Imperial style and titles inscribed just as in the Akbar abad or Delhi mintages. Now it is not likely that new dies with altered dates were afterwards sent from the capital year after year, and it may be permitted to conjecture that I. M. C. Nos. 948-949 are later issues made from local dies, in which the titles are, as might be expected in such marks of unwilling homage, curtailed even to baldness and of which the execution also is decidedly inferior.

S H HODIVALA.

169 THE MEANING OF *Tankā*:

The copper coins of Akbar are perhaps too plentiful to be ever the subject of keen interest among collectors. The one, two and four *Tankā* pieces, of which the only specimens known belong to four mints (Agra, Ahmadabad, Kabul and Lāhor) have, however, rarity as well as novelty to recommend them. Mr Whitehead says in the luminous mint notes prefixed to the 'Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum' (p. xxvi), that the meaning of the word *Tankā* is obscure. Apparently, it was a weight which had little or no connection with the *Tanka* ". I venture to say that though Edward Thomas and Walter Elliot and William Erskine have held widely divergent views as to the *etymology* of the word *Tankā* (Chronicles ed. 1871, pp. 49 n. 224 n.), and though the *philological affinity* of *Tankā* with *Tānā* may or may not be a matter of doubt and difficulty, an attitude of suspense and reservation as to the meaning of either of these terms is a very different thing altogether, and is not necessarily incumbent upon the scholar in the present state of knowledge.

It is true that a lamentable confusion reigns in the different

parts and languages of this country in regard to the nomenclature of weights and measures. One has only to glance at a book like Prinsep's 'Useful Tables' to stand bewildered at the various equivalents of the *seer* and the *maund*, the *gaz* and the *Bingha*. The *Tānk* or *Tank* also has several significations assigned to it in the Dictionaries. "Tanka Sanscrit टंक," says H. H. Wilson "is a weight of silver equal to four mashas, among the Marathas, the *Tānk* or *Tānk* (टंक टांक) is variously rated at four or nine mashas or as the same with a *tola*, or the seventy second part of a *pucca seer*, a coin, a stamped coin in general whence it came to be applied, sometimes slightly modified to specified coins in different metals (Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, s. v). Two of the many meanings which टंक *Tank* bears in Sanscrit are given by Monier Williams as (1) 'a weight of silver equal to four mashas, or twenty four *Raktikas* and (2) a stamped coin' (Sanskrit English Dictionary s. v). The author of a Gujarati English Dictionary says टांक, *Tank*, is (1) the seventy second part of a *sher* and also a standard of weight used in weighing pearls (Belsare Gujarati English Dictionary s. v). Now it certainly does not make for lucidity or clarity to be told that a *Tank* or *Tank* is equal to four mashas and also to nine mashas and also to a *tola*, and also to the seventy second part of a *pucca seer* but all this confusion notwithstanding it is still possible to state with confidence what Akbar or Akbar's mint masters of Agra, Allahabad, Lahor and Kabul understood by the *Tānk*, which they inscribed in his coppers. In other words, I submit that there can be no difficulty in saying which of these different equivalents of the *Tānk* was adopted by them as the standard. Just as in spite of all the local variations of the *seer* and the *maund*, the *Gaz* and the *Bingha* which are recorded in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and elsewhere, it has been possible to determine with such certainty as to leave at the worst a very small margin of error the weight of the Akbari *ser*, and the length of the Akbari *gaz* (Thomas' Prinsep, II, pp. 88. Elliot, Glossary Ed. Beams II, pp. 177-8. Thomas, Chronicles ed. 1871, pp. 429-430). So it is possible to declare that whatever the variations of the *Tank* among the Marathas or the Gujaratis, the *Tank* or *Tānk* of Akbar was about 63 grains.

For this we are indebted to an equation in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, to which I invite the attention of Numismatists. "The *Dām*" he says "weighs 5 tanks i. e., 1 *tolah*, 8 mashas and 7 surkhs. It is the fortieth part of a rupee" (Blochmann, *Ain* I 31). Now 12 mashas make a *tola*, and 8 surkhs or *ratis* make a *masha* (*Ain* ib. 16 note). A *Dām* of Akbar's was therefore equal to $20\frac{1}{2}$ mashas, and the *Tānk*, its fifth part was $= \frac{20\frac{1}{2}}{5} \times \frac{1}{2} = 2\frac{1}{4} = 4\frac{1}{2}$ mashas, = 4 mashas and $1\frac{1}{2}$ surkhs = 60 + $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs. at 15 grains to the *masha*.

In other words, it may be predicated with confidence that the *Tānk* of Akbar was neither nine mashas nor $\frac{7}{2}$ and part of a pucca seer nor a tolah but 4 mashas and $1\frac{1}{2}$ surkhs or $63\frac{1}{2}$ grains. I need scarcely add that this tallies very nearly with the known weights of the *Tanki* pieces in our Museums which range from a maximum of $60\frac{3}{4}$ grs. to a minimum of 56 grs.

In fact the *Tanki* appears to have been issued to provide a fractional currency of which the *bas* was the fifth part of the *Dam* or rather the *tenth* part of the *Tanka* of about 640 grs. Of the *Dam* and the *Tānkā* there were already in existence the halves the quarters and the eighth parts. The idea appears to have occurred to some one of adopting the decimal system of division. The traditional weight of the *Tank* happened to be exactly the tenth part of the heavy Akbari *Tankā* and so pieces were issued which might serve equally well as the fifth part of the *Dam* or the tenth of the *Tanka* the two fifths of the *Dam* or the one fifth of the *Tanka* and the four fifths of the *Dam* or two fifths of the *Tanka*.

S H HODIVALA





1 Ob



1 R



2 Ob



2 R



3 Ob



3 R



4 Ob



4 R



5 Ob



5 R

Note—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 140 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1916

170 THE DRACHME OF THE SASSANIAN QUEEN BÖRAN

In the Numismatic Supplement No XVI, Art 99, by Mr Thanawalla is a description of the rare "dirham of Queen Purindukht," belonging to my friend Mr Maneck R Settna

The mint monogram on this drachme is given in the description as رَام (ram), but on referring to the illustration I felt unable to accept this rendering, the correct version being undoubtedly نِهَح (nihch) The owner, in order to enable me to confirm my opinion courteously gave me an opportunity of inspecting the coin with the result that I have no hesitation in declaring the reading رَام to be incorrect and misleading

Mordtmann reads the monogram as "nach" and would identify the mint with Nakhjevan, situated on the Araxes on the Russo Persian frontier This rendering is very doubtful The ن is indisputable but the intermediate letter, composed of two strokes rounded off and not resembling A has the first part complete and distinct, while the second forms the head of H In preferring nihch to nach I am supported by De Morgan who argues that the reading of Mordtmann can be accepted only if his interpretation of A be given the Pahlavi value of KH, a condition prohibited by the distinctness of the letter I He suggests as the mint name Nihchavan, but unfortunately he has not indicated the situation of this town

The suggested similarity of monogram with that in Dorn Pl XXIV fig 38, noted in the description, does not exist On the contrary the monogram tallies exactly with that on fig 35 of the same plate and also with fig 19 on Pl XXIX

According to Mordtmann the mint "ram" occurs only till the end of the reign of Khusrau Parviz (628 A C) The mint 'nihch' is found frequently on the drachmes of the ephe-meral sovereigns between Khusrau Parviz and Yazdegerd Shahrivar I have a coin of the second regnal year of Hormazd V bearing the monogram nihch " exactly resembling that on the coin under review

An important part of the obverse legend has been omitted altogether This is the monogram above the word افرود (af-zūtū) behind the head of the Queen This monogram Mordt-

mann gives as زمان (zaman)=for ever, but from the legend on the gold coin of Kobad described by Drouin we may infer that it is the shortened form of جوانی (jaubāni). The whole obverse legend of the gold coin is, in Pahlavi characters, جوانی افر (jaubāni afzū), the meaning of this phrase according to Drouin being "the glory of the young prince." In my opinion the monogram in question is nothing but the word 'afzū' its gradual development being indicated by an examination first of the legend on the obverse behind the head in Dorn, Pl. XXVI fig. 1 secondly those on figs. 11, 12 and 14 of the same plate and fig. 20 on Pl. XXVII and lastly Pl. XXVIII fig. 3. It would appear therefore that the evolution of the monogram commenced in the latter part of the reign of Hormazd IV and was complete by the early years of the reign of Khusrāu Parvīz. The surprising feature is its appearance side by side with the same word in its entire form. It seems as if this were due to ignorance on the part of the die-sinkers, who possibly regarded the conventional form of 'afzū' as a necessary appendage to the monogram itself.

What is the true name of this Queen? The Persians called her پوری دحب = Puran dukht and thus she has been designated by later Oriental and European writers but the suffix 'dukht' obviously indicates, for the sake of distinction the sex of the princess and it is clear from the contemporary Byzantine writers who never designate her except by the name of Boran that the Persian authors of the Muhammadan epoch changed the first letter into 'p'. The fictitious Persian form of Puran dukht should be rejected as well as Taurandukht a popular mediaeval rendering which was clearly due to displacement of the diacritical dots. The true spelling of the name is therefore Boran this being the Arabic and Persian pronunciation of the correct Greek form Βορην.

Queen Boran was the daughter of Khusrāu Parvīz and sister of Kobad Shērōe and Queen Āzarmī dukht. Their mother was the Princess Mary daughter of the Emperor Maurice. After her suffering several reverses from the Arabs the inhabitants of Madain (Ctesiphon), then the western capital of the empire, revolted and Boran was deposed in October 631 the fact of her subsequent murder being recorded by Drouin.

As Borān according to the majority of the historians reigned for 16 or 17 months only it is surprising to find coins of her third regnal year. The Sassanian sovereigns however reckoned the regnal years according to the calendar and not from the date of accession, so that a ruler ascending the throne in the last month of the Persian year would enter his second regnal year on the first day of the following month.

In this case Bōrān entered on her third year in the fourteenth month of her reign. According to the calculations of Noeldeke Queen Bōrān began to reign in the summer of 630 and was deposed in the autumn of 631. As the Persian year ran from June to June, we can safely place her accession in May or the beginning of June 630. Thus —

May to 16th June 630, about one month of reign, 1st year

17th June 630 to 16th June 631, 2nd year

17th June to October 631, about four months of reign, 3rd year

This makes in all about seventeen months of reign, with the two extreme dates of May 630 and October 631. Obviously therefore coins of the first regnal year, as that under consideration, must be extremely rare, as the issues of the first month were probably, but not necessarily, very limited.

FURDOONJEE D J PARUCK

171 THE DIRHAM I SHAR'AI

Among the exceedingly varied and often artistically executed issues of the Mughal Mints, the "legal drachms" of Aurangzeb possess no small interest, at least for the collector who can bring historical information to bear on Numismatic enquiry, and can, at the same time illustrate the often imperfect annals of the Musalmān rulers by their coins. These curious *dirhams* are so very rare as to be absolutely unrepresented even in the Indian Museum, and altogether only one or two specimens are known of the issue of one or other of about five Mints (Allahabad, Patna Katak, Lahor and Multan. Whitehead, P M C xxvi). But if their scarcity is not a little provoking, the silence of the Muhammadan chroniclers, who are never weary of filling pages with banal descriptions of pageants and ceremonies, honours and titles and even presents and prodigies, about the date, the object, or the circumstances connected with the issue of this currency, is almost exasperating. There is not a word about them in the valuable Introduction to the Indian Museum Catalogue and all that Mr Whitehead says of them is that "apparently, they had some bearing on dowry and the Muhammadan Law" (P M C Introduction, xxv xxvi). In another place, he appends the following note, —

'According to the Muhammadan Law, a property owner must possess assets of the value of 200 dirhams before he becomes liable to the tax of *ḥaj*, (alms). Taking the value of the *dirham* to be that fixed by the Khalifah 'Umr (Omar), ten of these *dirhams* are equivalent to seven *Misqāls*. Such a dirham is called a legal *dirham*, and it seems that Aurangzeb had speci

men coins made of the original value so that his subjects might know what a *dirham* actually was, and might be assessed to alms strictly on the basis of the ancient law books

The amount of property subject to the tax of *Zakāt* (alms) is called *nisāb* نِسَاب. A *nisāb* may consist of stocks, chattels, money, etc. A *nisāb* of silver is equivalent to 200 *dirhams*. Every ten of these *dirhams* must weigh seven *misqāls* i.e., 1 *dirham* = $7/10$ *misqāl* (مثقال). Such a *dirham* is called a legal *dirham* (درهم شرعی) * * *. According to the above data, the weight of a legal *dirham* is 416 grains" (Ib p 437)

Now this is the question that lies before us—Is it possible to substantiate either of these conjectures? In other words is it in our power to quote from any of the contemporaneous histories of Aurangzeb any reference, direct or indirect, connecting these *dirhams* with the payment of dowries, the assessment of *zakāt*, or the levying of any other tax or due which it was the duty of the Faithful to pay and the privilege of their rulers to demand, according to the accredited exponents of the Muhammadan Law? I am not aware that any such testimony has been actually cited and I may be therefore permitted to quote the little that I have been able to glean on the subject. Let me first take the question as it relates to dowries, and mention the only instance within my knowledge in which the dowry of a daughter-in-law of Aurangzeb was fixed, by the express orders of the Emperor, at five hundred of these new fangled *dirhams*. The passage occurs in the *Maāsir-i Alamgiri*, a contemporary chronicle which was written in 1122 A H (1710 A C) by Muhammad Saqi Mustaid Khan, Munshi or Secretary to Inayat-ullah Khan the Wazir of Bahadur Shah, Shah Alam I. In his account of the events of the year 1092 A H this writer says

سردهم رحب سیدی معنی شهر بانو دختر عادلشاه بعا نوری را
آوردہ بصرم سراى حرم رساند و لورا بدم رحب نا پادشاهرا و محمد اعظم
سرى هندستوى دست داد مہرہ بصدہ بودند - در مسجد خاص و عام قاصی
صبح عند السلام نکاح خواند و نہ بدمب صدہ حضرت حنر البشر ملکہ الصلوہ
والسلام پانصد درهم مہر مقرر شد *

(Bibliotheca Indica Text, p 210, II 16-20)

'On the thirteenth of Rajab [1092 A H] Sidi Yahyā escorted Shahrbanū, the daughter of 'Adilshah of Bijapur and she entered the Harem of Honour. On the twentieth of Rajab she had the felicity of having her marriage with the

Prince Muhammad Azam consummated. The Emperor himself had bound the chaplet on [to the forehead of the Prince] The Qazi 'Abd us Salam read the marriage service in the Mosque

The dower was fixed at five hundred dirhams in accordance with the practice of His Holiness, the Best of Mankind [i.e. the Prophet Muhammad] on whom be Blessings and Peace "

It would appear that in his zeal to re-establish in India the legalistic system of the Early Caliphate and restore the 'simple life' characteristic of the primitive days of Islam Aurangzeb made an endeavour to abolish the demand and payment of extravagant sums as dower which had become customary in his day. 'Beware make not huge settlements the Prophet had said upon women because if great settlements were a cause of greatness in the world and of righteousness before God surely it would be most proper for the Prophet of God to make them' (*Mishkāt-al-Masabih* Book XIII) According to Muhammadan Law the wife is not entitled to a dower of more than ten *dirhams* in those cases in which a larger sum has not been previously fixed upon "

(Hughes Dictionary of Islam pp 91 314) The early Hanafi Lawyers says Mr Ameer Ali fixed ten *dirhams* (equal to about five or six francs) as the minimum for dower. The Malikis inhabiting a poorer and less populous country than that in which the early Hanafi lawyers flourished consider three *dirhams* (one franc and eighty centimes) as the lowest sum which can be given by way of *Sadak* or *Mahr* * * * These minima have been abandoned for a long time and it has become customary in different countries to fix the amount of dower entirely by a consideration of the circumstances of the husband and wife. In India for example among that portion of the Musalman community which occupies an analogous position to the upper middle class of English society the amount of dower ranges from Rs 4 000 to 40 000. In Behar the latter is generally speaking the customary dower. In lower Bengal there is no custom. Among the lower classes the *Mahr* varies from Rs 50 to 400. *In princely families the dower consists of several lacs of Rupees* (*Muhammadan Law* II 383)

In another place the same authority tell us. The Prophet did not enunciate any fixed rule as to the amount of dower. He expressly left it to custom and local usages but as *he appears to have settled five hundred dirhams upon Maimuna* the Shi'ites consider that amount to be the *Mahr*; *Sunnat*. The *Radd-ul-Muhtar* says the dower of our Lady Fatima was 400 *dirhams* " (*Ibid* II 382 note). It is clear that in fixing the dower of the Bijapur princess at five hundred *dirhams* Aurangzeb took as his model the practice of the Prophet in the case of Maimuna. But not content with cutting down the amount he appears to have dreamt of introducing along with it a currency of which

the denomination, the weight and the legend were all borrowed from the practice and associated with the sacred memory of those Apostolic rulers Umar the Discriminator and 'Usman the Lord of the Two Lights. The opposition he met with from his own children, and probably also the *vis inertiae* of a conservative and obscurantist priesthood appear to have speedily convinced him of the futility of his efforts. In our own days the Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan finding that some important and influential families used to get their sons-in-law to sign such large amounts of dowry for their wives against their wish that it was impossible for them to pay, fixed the maximum amount even for princes of the royal family at Rs. 3000 and the minimum at Rs. 300 (Life Eng. Trans. II. 67.)

Indeed this case of the Bijapur Princess is the only one that I have been able to find and I feel that I should be conveying an absolutely misleading idea of its real significance if I did not add the following facts of collateral interest. These are that there are no less than thirty six other notices of the marriages of Royal Princes or great nobles within the covers of the *Maāsir-i-Maḥarr* itself that in eight of these cases the various amounts of the dowry stipulated are expressly mentioned in Rupees only (fifty thousand to six lacs) that the above instance was the only one in which it was fixed in *dirhams* and that a marriage is recorded only four days afterward in which the *Kāḥin* or *Mahr* was fifty thousand Rupees. [For these notices see the Bibliotheca Indica Text pp. 29, 37, 73 (Rs. 1,80,000), 74, 75 (1x lacs of Rupees), 110, 112, 114, 119 (five lacs of Rupees), 120, 124 (6x lacs of Rupees), 125 (four lacs of Rupees), 148, 152, 155, 158, 166 (two lacs of Rupees), 167, 211 (fifty thousand Rupees), 221, 225, 247, 248, 250, 274, 284 (two lacs of Rupees), 312, 347, 372, 374, 473, 475, 480, 482, 496.]

Let us now see if these *dirhams* are referred to in connection with any other tax or due sanctioned by Musalman jurists. Our thoughts at once turn to the *Jizya* or Poll tax the payment of which was obligatory on all *Zimmis* and which Aurangzeb re-imposed on the Hindus and others of his non Moslem subjects after the lapse of more than a century. I will now proceed accordingly to quote an illuminative passage which occurs in regard thereto in the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* of Ali Muhammad Khān. The author was Diwan of Gujarat in the reign of Muhammad Shah and he has written a history of the Province under Mughal rule which is truly remarkable for the wealth of statistical detail that is buried in its pages. Among other things he informs us that no less than five lacs of Rupees were annually realized by the *Jizya* in this single province and he quotes extracts from the Imperial Farman by which it was re-imposed.

After defining the *Ahl-i-Zimma* as the People of the Book

(Jews and Christians) Magians (Zoroastrians) and Idolators and exempting from payment women the young the blind the lame, the insane and the destitute poor, the Farman goes on to say

دویم

در هر سال دوازده درهم از فقرو بسب و چهار درهم و متوسط و چهل و هشت درهم از عی داد گرو چو نال فعل دراهم رائج بسب بقرة نور سه توله و یک ماسه و سه ربع ماسه و پنجم حصه ماشه و فقر و صنف آن متوسط و صنف آن از عی در هر سال بگرد و تکلف نکنند و اگر کسی روپیه بدهد همدن مقدار ورن نموده بگردد بعد از آن که دراهم جاری شد دراهم بگردند *

سوم

در تقصیر علی و متوسط و فقر اختلاف است اما که موقعی آن بحد ر عمل نمایند علی آنست که در ملک او ده هزار درهم یا زیاده از آن باشد و متوسط آنست که در ملک او زیاده دویست درهم باشد و فقر آنست که در ملک او از دویست درهم کم است *

Mirat, Ahmadi, Bombay Lithograph 1307 A H Part I 313 (collated with a manuscript)

Secondly—Every year twelve dirhams should be taken from the *Faqir* twenty four dirhams from the *Mutawassat* and forty eight from the *Ghani*. But as dirhams are as a matter of fact not current three tolahs and one masha and three fourths and one-twentieth of a masha of silver may be taken from the *Faqir* and twice as much from the *Mutawassat* and the double of the latter from the *Ghani*. They should not insist [on receiving payment in any particular medium] If any one gives Rupees they should be taken [accepted] if they contain the same weight of silver And dirhams should be taken [accepted] after dirhams are in circulation

Thirdly—As there is a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of [the words] *Ghani*, *Mutawassat* and *Faqir* they should act according to the following interpretation He is the *Ghani* [lit Rich] who has property worth ten thousand dirhams or more The *Mutawassat* [lit Middling] is he whose goods are worth more than two hundred dirhams and the *Faqir* [lit poor] is he whose possessions are less than two hundred dirhams.

Detailed instructions are then given to the effect that the *Jizy* should be brought by the payer in person and not sent by a messenger that the payer should stand while the collec

tor remained sitting, that the collector should place his hand over that of the payer, and take the money out of it. The *Ghami* (Rich) were at liberty to pay the whole amount at once, the *Mutawassat* (Middle) might pay it in two instalments, and the *Faqir* (Poor) in four. It is also provided that the tax should be remitted on conversion to Islām and it was to cease also in case of death.

These statements are so explicit, and the explanation they furnish of the origin of these coins is so satisfactory, that it is scarcely necessary to say much by way of comment. It is clear that these dirhams were not current when this Farman was issued about Safar 1090 A H, as the *Maāsir-i 'Ālamgiri* expressly tells us. (Bibl. Indica Text, p. 174 Elliot and Dowson VII, p. 296 note) It is also plain that they were first coined *some time afterwards*, in fulfilment of the promise made in the Farman, and with the object of making it easy for the *Zimmis* to pay, and the officers to receive, the tax as it had been paid and levied in the days of the Khalifs of old. We know that "the Caliph Omar, during his time, taxed those who were not of his faith, at the rate of 48 dirhams for persons of condition, 24 for those of the middle class, and 12 for the lowest class. This was called the *Jaziyah* (capitation tax)." *Āin-i-Ālbari*, trans. Jarrett, Vol II, p. 57. See also the *Hedāyat*, Book IX, Cap II and VIII.

After having seen how closely Aurangzeb followed the example of 'Umar in this and other instances, let me now say a few words about the equivalent weight in silver of twelve dirhams. This is expressly stated to be 3 tolās, 1 māshā and three-fourths and one-twentieth of a masha. With the tolā of 180 and the māshā of 15 grs this would amount to $540 + 15 + 11\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4} = 567$ grs. Divided by 12, this would fix the gross weight of the dirham at 47.25 grs—a result which approximates very closely the actual weight of the specimens in our Museums (Whitehead, P.M.C. Nos 1950 and 2271) and private cabinets, and also the theoretical limit arrived at by the most recent continental authorities on Early Musalman Metrology. "The most probable weight," says Zambaur, "is 2.97 grammes, which best agrees with the extant coins and glass-weights, as well as with the coin-weights of the time of Al Muqtadir (A.H. 295-320=908-932 A.D.), discovered by E.T. Rogers in the Faiyum (E.V. Zambaur, in Houtsma's Encyclopaedia of Islam, article *Dirham*). Decourdemanche has arrived at the figure 2.83 grammes by a series of ingenious calculations (J.A. Decourdemanche, *Etude Metrologique et Numismatique sur les Misqals et Dirhams Arabes*, 1908).

2.97 grammes = 45.8 grains; 2.83 grammes = 43.8 grains.

The next question is, had these dirhams any connection with the assessment of *Zalāt* also? In other words, were they issued by Aurangzeb with the object that his "subjects might

be assessed to alms strictly on the basis of the ancient Law Books?" It is impossible to answer the question in the affirmative. It is almost equally difficult to give a definite reply in the negative. All that can be said, in the present state of knowledge, is that no direct evidence has yet come to hand of the connection, and that the indirect evidence that is available is rather against than in favour of the supposed connection. This *indirect* evidence I may be now permitted to summarise. Of the three contemporary chronicles of Aurangzeb which have been published, the *Ālamgīr nāmā*, the *Maāsir-i-Ālamgīr* and the *Muntakhabūl Lubāb*, the first tells us nothing whatever about the matter. The author of the *Maāsir* has a solitary reference to the *ṣalāt* in the long and perfunctory *éloge* at the end of the volume, and states that before his accession, Aurangzeb used scrupulously to pay the *ṣalāt* that was due on his food and clothing, that after coming to the throne he devoted to that purpose the proceeds of several villages and two or three salt-producing tracts which were appropriated to the privy purse and that he gave the entire income from these sources to the *Īrbāb-i Istahqāq*—deserving persons (Bib Ind Text p 52a). The little that may be gleaned from Khifī Khan's *Muntakhabūl Lubāb* is slightly more to the purpose and may be read in Dowson's translation which as usual expresses the general sense of the passage correctly enough but is deficient in critical exactness. Khifī Khan tells us that "an order was promulgated exempting the commercial goods of Musalmans from tax throughout the dominion of Hindustan * * * The Revenue Officers then reported that Musalmans * * * passed the goods of Hindus in their names and thus the payment of the *ṣalāt* prescribed by the law was avoided. So an order was given that according to the Law two and a half per cent should be taken from Musalmans and five per cent from Hindus" (Elliot and Dowson History of India VII 293).

The last sentence is of some importance and it is necessary to quote the historian's actual words

حکم فرمودند کہ بدستور سابق و موافق سیرعت عرای صد دو و نیم

روپیہ ۱ مسلمانان و پنج روپیہ از ہندو گرمہ ناسند *

(Bib Ind Text, II 230)

"He commanded that in conformity with ancient usage and the Illustrious Law *Rupces two and a half* should be exacted for every hundred from Musalmans and *Rupces five* from Hindus."

It is not unworthy of note that there is an express reference here to *Rupces* and nothing whatever is said about assess

ing either the Faithful or the Infidel to "alms" in *dirhams*, though the order referred to by *Khafi Khan* was issued some time after their actual coinage.

I now come to the *Mirāt-i Ahmadi*, of which the writer again quotes the *ipsissima verba* of five Imperial Farmans on the subject of *zālāt*. The first of these is dated 4th Shawwal 1075 A H and was issued with the object of doing away once for all, with the unequal rates at which the *zālāt* was levied in different parts of the Imperial dominions, and establishing a uniform rate of "one in forty" ($2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent) for Musalmans and "two in forty" (5 per cent) for Hindus (*Mirāt-i Ahmadi*, Bombay Lithograph 1307 A H Part I pp 272-73). By the second, bearing date 25 Zilq ad 1077 A H Musalman merchants were exempted from payment of the tax, which continued to be levied from the goods of the Hindu traders (*Ibid*, pp 280-81). The third re-imposed it on the former on the 5th of Rabī ul Awwal of the 25th Regnal year (1093 A H) on account of their collusion with Hindus for the purpose of defrauding the Exchequer (*Ibid*, pp 315-16). The fourth was issued in 1099 A H and enjoined that the tax should be levied not, as heretofore, in the place where the goods had been *purchased*, but in that where they were actually *sold*. (*Ibid*, pp 335-6). Ten years afterwards (1109 A.H.) the rule was again altered and it was determined, for fiscal reasons to revert to the old practice of realizing the *zālāt* in the place of purchase (*Ibid*, pp 357-58).

Now there is no reference whatever to these *Dirahim* i Shar'ā in any one of these five documents, although the last three were all issued *after* the coinage of the *dirhams* had commenced about the 24th Regnal year (1092) to which the specimen in the Punjab Museum belongs (Whitehead P.M.C. No 1950). It must be remembered also that the *zālāt* was an *ad valorem* duty, and as the value of the goods of merchants were entered in their Bills of Lading and Invoices only in Rupees, the Revenue Officers must have found it very inconvenient to levy the duty in any other medium than the current coin of the Realm. Indeed, in determining the value of the *nisab* or minimum exempted from the payment of *zālāt* by the Law of the Prophet, Aurangzeb himself found it necessary to express its equivalent in two of these Farmans (the first and the third) only in Rupees (Rs 52-8 and Rs 54-12-6) (*Mirāt* pp 278 and 316). It is possible to deny any significance to this fact but it may also be maintained with reason that if the Emperor had seriously intended to make the *zālāt* payable optionally or otherwise in the new fangled *dirhams* he would have employed the phrase 200 *dirhams* or at least the alternative expression '200 *dirhams* or Rs 52-8' (or Rs 54-12-6).

I am aware that this is at best a negative argument and

that the silence of these documents on the subject is far from conclusive. I have however thought it my duty to state the other side of the case, so far as my knowledge will permit.

Briefly, we may say with some confidence that these legal dirhams had their origin in, and were the direct result of, Aurangzeb's re imposition of the *Jizyā*. Of this, we have a confirmation in the fact that the only Emperor in whose times the issue of these pieces appears to have been revived, was Farrukhsiyar. A solitary specimen of this re-issue in the Punjab Museum is of the 6th Regnal year (Whitehead P.M.C. No. 2271). We have the testimony of Khāfi Khān to the effect that in *that very year* an order was passed for levying the *Jizyā* strictly from the Hindus, that this was done at the instance of 'Ināyat-u-llāh Khān, who had been Aurangzeb's own Munshi and now became Financial Minister, and that it gave great offence to Ratan Chand, the Hindu Dīwān and factotum of the all-powerful Savyad 'Abdullāh (E. D. VII, pp 462 and 447. *Muntakhabū-l-Lubāb*, II, 775. See also the *Siyar-a-Mutakharin*. Eng. trans., Calcutta Reprint 1902, I, p 105).

Secondly, they appear to have been also connected with Aurangzeb's projected reform in regard to the reduction of the extravagant amounts which had then come to be demanded as *mahr*.

But it is impossible to say in the present state of knowledge, that they were issued with the object that the subjects "may be assessed to alms or *ṣalāt* on the basis of the Mint Law Books." This part of the question must, for present, remain undecided, and we must wait for further evidence on that head.

S. H. HODIVĀLĀ

P. S.—I have followed the manuscript referred to in taking the weight of silver equivalent to 12 Dirhams as 3 Tolās, and $1 + (\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{10})$ Māshā, and supposed it to stand for 567 grs. at 180 grs to the Tolā. If the weight of the Mughal Tolā was, as some competent writers believe, 186 grs. Troy, this would amount to 585 $\frac{1}{10}$ grs. in the aggregate, and give an average weight of 48 $\frac{1}{10}$ grs for the single Dirham. In the Bombay Lithograph of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, the weight of silver is thus stated: *سه توله و یک ماشه و سه سرح و ربع ماشه باشد و بیستم حصه ماشه*. It is clear that *باشد* here is scarcely in its proper place, and the interpolation of *سه سرح* in the middle is also open to some suspicion; but supposing that the meaning is 3 Tolās, 1 Māshā, 3 Surkhs (i.e. *Rahs*) and $(\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{10})$ of a Māshā, the weight of silver would, at 180 grs. to the Tolā, be 564 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs. ($540 + 15 + 5\frac{1}{4} + 3\frac{3}{4} + \frac{1}{4}$), and we should have an average of 47 $\frac{1}{8}$ grs only for the Dirham. If the Tolā is supposed to be equivalent to 186 grs. this would result in an aggregate weight of 583 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

($558 + 15\frac{1}{2} + 5\frac{1}{2} + 3\frac{1}{2} + \dots$) for 12 Dirhams and the average of $48\frac{1}{2}$ grs for the Dirham. The difference is not of any great consequence, and it is clear at any rate that the Dirham was valued at a little more than four annas. According to the contemporary writer quoted in Jonathan Scott's History of the Dekkan (II 149) a rich Hindu possessing two thousand rupees worth of property was bound to pay *Thirteen Papes*. This corresponds obviously, to the 48 Dirhams which the *Ghani* or wealthy man possessing ten thousand Dirhams was obliged to contribute and the Dirhams must therefore have been equal to $16 \times 13 = 208 = 43$ annas i.e. 4 annas and a quarter.

S H H

172 A NEW TYPE OF SILVER DIRHAM OF THE SASSANIAN MONARCH ZAMASP (ZĀMĀSP) ?¹

My attention was drawn recently to the article thus entitled by Mr Thanawalla thanks to the kindness of my learned friend Dr J J Modi in putting at my disposal the back numbers of the Numismatic Supplement. Careful consideration of the description and the illustration of the coin leads me definitely to the conclusion that the drachme in question is not attributable to Zamasp but was issued by Khusrau I. I would hesitate to come forward were it not for the following forcible reasons.

In the first place we have to consider the form of the crowns depicted on the coins of these two sovereigns following the advice of Thomas who declares that in most cases even where the legends are hopelessly obscure or obliterated we can place our specimens with the utmost certainty by the test of the form of the crown (Sassanians in Persia p 26). Now all the coins of Zamasp hitherto published have the crescent and star above the middle of the crown whereas the coin under discussion bears these symbols above the front edge over the forehead an arrangement followed invariably in the coins of Khusrau I. This important difference is illustrated clearly by the two coins depicted on Plate XXVIII which accompanied the same number of the Supplement.

Secondly the coins of Zamasp always bear the representation of a boy a statement supported by the remark of Dorn that on all the coins the king is represented with an infant who tends him a crown [Revue Archeologique 1898 *vide* also Dorn Pl XVIII].

The device of the crescent over the shoulders of the monarch may be considered another peculiarity of the coins of Khusrau I (*vide* Dorn Pl XXII XXIII XXIV and XXV).

On the other hand I am unaware of any coin of Zamasp bearing a crescent in the field of the obverse. Similarly the star behind the head is a constantly recurring device on the coins of Khusrau I, but is never, I believe, found on those of Zamasp.

Of still more importance is the actual legend. On the coins of Zamasp the name is given usually in the abbreviated form of Zam, as admitted by Mr. Thanawalla, and occurs but rarely in full. Mordtmann (*Z D M G*, 1865, p. 440) describes a drachme of this king on the obverse of which he believes the full name to be legible, and in Dorn (*Pl. XVIII*, fig. 8) we find a solitary specimen with Zamasp in its entirety, having Zam on the right and Asp on the left of the crown. No coin yet discovered, however, bears merely the second half of the name, and in the case under discussion I would submit that not only is the reading 𐭥𐭥 = (a)sp untenable but that my rendering of 𐭥𐭥 instead

of 𐭥𐭥 = Khus(rui) is both natural and convincing. The first portion of the inscription is composed of the latter half of 'a' and 'u' and the second letter is unquestionably 's'. The first stroke of the 'a' is not apparent, but the 'u' is very distinct (cf. Dorn *Pl. XII*, fig. 6 also *Pl. XII*, fig. 14 *Pl. XV*, fig. 56, and *Pl. XVI*, figs. 10 and 14).

I refer to the coin illustrated by Dorn (*Pl. XII*, fig. 6) more particularly as it was struck at the same mint (Merv) as that under discussion, and consequently we may expect to find in both the same local characteristics in script, peculiarities in writing being almost as common as local distinctions in dialect. The coin given by Dorn is of the fourth regnal year, while that under review is of the third, and the two present a marked similarity in almost every respect. This similarity is most striking in the case of the first two letters of the obverse legend. I have in my own cabinet a coin of the fifth regnal year of Khusrau I from the same mint, and this again displays almost identical characteristics, save it bears on the obverse behind the head the additional word *afzu* the legend Khus(rui) bearing a distinct resemblance to that on the coin under examination. In the list of mints given by Mordtmann (*Z D M G*, XXXIV, 1880, p. 109) the mint city of Merv is not mentioned as issuing coins of the third year of Zamasp, and this year is similarly omitted in the history of the Merv mint by De Morgan (*Revue Numismatique* 1913 p. 349).

The crescents on the margin constitute a further point of material importance in the design. These are never found on the coins of Zamasp, and Drouin (*Rev. Arch.*, 1898) states definitely that their introduction dates from the thirteenth year of Kobad I (501 A.C.), whereas Zamasp reigned from 497 to 499 A.C. It must be remembered that the reign of Kobad is divided into two parts, the first from 488 to 497 (regnal years 1 to 9), and the second after Zamasp from 499 to 531 (years 11 to 43).

The reverse of the coin, however, with its striking resemblance to that figured by Dorn, affords to my mind the most convincing proof that the drachme belongs to the early years of Khusrav I. In connection with the local divergence in script and speech noted above it is most significant that the coin illustrated by Dorn bears on the reverse the Pahlavi word

chehar ' instead of the Semitic ' arba ' this being the only instance known to me in which the Pahlavi word is used in place of the Semitic in the case of the first ten units. On my coin of the fifth and on that of the third year described by Mr Thanawalla the fire-altar and the attendants are exactly similar. There are no crescents on the margin of the reverse and none has ever been found on the reverse of any coin of Khusrav I.

The conclusion seems irresistible. For the reasons given the coin must be regarded as one of Khusrav I since in view of the many other considerations it appears impossible to attribute it to any other monarch on the one disputable ground of the reading of an indistinct letter.

Strength is lent to this conclusion by Dorn who in his preface to the plates of Bartholomaei (p 7) states that these coins are arranged chronologically on the grounds of their artistic execution the manner in which the hair is dressed the forms of the fire-altar the astral signs, the granular ornaments round the coins and other indications which are necessary for the deciphering of the inscriptions. On the following page he remarks that with these plates at hand one can easily attribute each Sassanian coin with very few exceptions to the monarch by whom it was struck and even thereby fix the year from the time of King Jamasp.

FURDOONJEE D J PARUCK

113 THE ZOROASTRIAN DEITY ARDOSHR OR ARDVISHUR ON INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS

With reference to the paper No 149 on The Zoroastrian Deity Ardohr or Ardvishur on Indo-Scythian Coins by Mr Framjee Jamasjee Thanawalla published in the Numismatic Supplement No XXV in the course of which he remarks that an idea has recently struck him that the legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ can be read as ardohr=ardvishur the female deity goddess of sea. Avān Ardvishur I may be allowed to point out that no grounds are given for this suggestion and that the transition from the original ardukhsh into ardohr and then into ardvishur is far from clear. He represents Avān Ardvishur as the goddess of the sea but this term is a corruption and I find no place in the Avesta language. The correct term is Ardvishura Anahita. We find in the Avesta I shall offer unto the holy Ardvishura Anahita goddess of the heavenly streams pure

and undefiled, a goodly sacrifice accompanied by an oblation " —Yasht V, 9

Ardviçura Anahita, the Anaitis of the Greeks (compared by some with the Greek Artemis and by others with the Greek Aphrodite), the Mylitta of the Babylonians, the Astarte or Asteroth of the Syrians and the Venus of the Romans, was the female deity that presided over waters. As water led to the fertility of the soil, and as women led to the fructification and increase of the human race, this deity Anahita like her prototypes among other nations, was connected closely with the beauty of women and with their fructifying powers. Anahita is mentioned further in the Avesta as purifying the wombs of women and easing the pangs of childbirth.

Kangavar is a small town of great antiquity, lying directly on the route between Bisitun and Hamadân in Persia and contains important ruins of a temple of the Ancient Persian Diana. Jackson (*Persia Past and Present* p 240) after examining these ruins, believes "that they are the remains of a temple of Anahita, the great Persian goddess of the heavenly streams whom the Greeks identified with Artemis or Diana and whose worship was widespread throughout Iran in the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon in the fourth century before Christ."

Curzon (*Persia*, vol II p 133) states that "Anahita Anahidh, or Tanata the Anaitis of the Greeks, the ruins of a temple to whom at Kangavar I have already noticed in vol I p 51, was a goddess who from the end of the fifth century B C played a part in the official religion of Persia somewhat similar to the Phœnician Astarte the Babylonian Mylitta the Arabian Alitta and the Hellenic Aphrodite. According to Plutarch statues to her were put up in all the great cities of the empire. She is supposed to have been of Armenian or Cappadocian origin. The popular translation of her name into Artemis, or Diana, appears to me to be incorrect."

The term Avan Ardashur, as given by Mr Thanawalla, if taken in its correct form Avân Ardviçura would mean 'the waters of the Oxus'. Avan (plural form of av = water) means waters, and the river Ardviçura of the Avesta has been identified with the Oxus. Anahita means immaculate."

Drouin reads the legend ΑΡΔΟΧΣΟ as Ardokhshe (see *Le Nimbe sur les Monnaies des Rois Indo Scythes*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1901, p 156).

Dr E W West (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II Band III Lieferung, *Pahlavi Literature*, pp 75 and 76) reads and explains this legend as follows —

Αρδωχσο = Ardvarxso (Avesta, Ašvanguhi) That is, Ashi vanguhi

He proceeds to say 'Allowing for the deficiencies of the Greek alphabet, which occasioned the use of the vowel o for the sounds of h and v (English w) in addition to its own, these

Greek transcripts ought to represent something like the Iranian pronunciation of the first century after Christ. And it is remarkable that this pronunciation often approaches much nearer to the modern Persian than to the sound indicated by the written Pahlavi, which latter seems to preserve traces of an older pronunciation more like that of ancient Persian and the Avesta, this is especially seen in the names Mihro, Šahrevar, and Vado, when compared with the Phlv, Vitrō, Šatraver, and Vatō. The final vowel o, which is very rarely replaced by i or e on these coins, is used after every consonant that occurs, but in MS Pahlavi it occurs only after b, p, t, ḡ, h, n and g."

Sir M Aurel Stein has come, correctly in my opinion, to the conclusion that this legend represents the Zoroastrian deity Ashishvang or Ardishvang, but he hesitates in the absence of more conclusive evidence, as he cannot reconcile her common name with the form of the legend. He also hesitates about the legend ΑΡΑΕΙΧΡΟ which he would identify, again correctly as I believe, with Ardīrāhist, provided that any satisfactory evidence could be found for the phonetic change of sht into hsh.

One very strong evidence in favour of the above identification of Ashishvang is the representation of the goddess on coins with cornucopæ in her hands thus resembling the Greek Tyche, the personification of Wealth and Fortune. The Hindu goddess Lakshmi is an exact prototype of Ashishvang.

Mr Thanawalla takes the final o in the legend as an *oā* /at/ but this simple explanation does not help us, as an *oā*/at/ necessarily implies possession of something, and there is nothing possessive in the phrase.

In Pahlavi an optional o is often found following the letters b, p, f, t, ch, j, h, and n either in the body or at the end of words. Even the oldest MSS fail to observe any uniformity as regards this redundant o but insert or omit it indiscriminately. This seems to show that o though inserted long ago was not pronounced. European savants give this redundant letter the sound ḡ. Formerly it was explained as being a remnant of the Avesta case terminations. This ending in o may be a dialectic peculiarity of the Indo-Scythian race. Examples are not wanting of Grecised Persian names, e.g. Tindates, Oromazd, Pharnabazos, Tiribazos etc.

Should this letter be pronounced? Perhaps not, as we have similar examples of mute letters in other living languages. For example, in English we find words like know, fruit, condemn, column, calm psalm etc., where a letter or letters are quiescent, in French the consonants at the end of words are generally mute, and the Persian language, which owes its origin to Pahlavi, has h mute in many words.

Both Drs Haug and West have agreed that this optional

final letter was a vowel, either u or o, equivalent to the final i added to many words in Sassanian Pahlavi, and that it probably represented some indistinct short vowel sound, resembling that which is inherent in all the consonants of Indian languages. Dr. Haug suggested that a short *ö*, distinguished by the prosodial symbol of brevity, might be suitable, to which Dr. West assented, adding that a simple short o is sufficient, since its position, at the end of a word, explains the nature of the sound. Where, however, it may represent an *ô* or *aô* in an original language, it should be written o (see *Ardâ-Viraf*, Introduction, pp. xxviii—xli, by Dr. Martin Haug, 1871).

Dr. West (Cama Memorial Volume, p. 108) says "If Haug had lived till 1887, he would have been delighted to read a confirmation of his suggestion in Dr. M. A. Stein's *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian coins*. These coins supply a dozen names of Zoroastrian Yazats in Greek uncials, each name ending with the shorter Greek O, which letter is also used to express the Avesta *v*, *h* and *th*. But the forms of the names are Pahlavi, such as one would hardly expect to be as old as the first century A. D. the period usually assigned to the Indo-Scythic kings whose names these coins also bear."

I must note that AΘPO with the variant AΘOPO is found on the gold coins of Huvishka, and not AΘpO or AΘOpO as given by Mr. Thanawalla. The reading *athsho* has no meaning known to me, but AΘPO is directly derived from the Zend *athr* and is identical with the Pahlavi *atrō* and the Persian *adhar* "fire". The latter form has survived side by side with the more common *atash* (a descendant of the ancient nominative *atars*), chiefly as the name of the 9th Zoroastrian month and also the 9th day of every month. (See Sir M. A. Stein's paper, p. 12.)

Similarly the first letter of the legend PAOPHOPO has been recorded by Mr. Thanawalla as *p*, but this too is inaccurate. The Scythian *p* bears here the phonetic character of *sh* exactly as it does in the case of the well known KOPANO = Kushan.

FURDOONJEE D. J. PARUCK

28th May, 1916

174 ON A GOLD COIN OF THE SASSANIAN KING SHAPUR THE GREAT

On the death of Hormazd II (310 A. C.), his natural heir Hormazd was set aside by the nobles, who disliked his inclination

1 A more interesting and to my mind more convincing example of this is to be found in the mute vowel *Ъ* which forms the termination in Cyrillic characters of practically every Russian word ending, as far as its pronunciation is concerned, in a consonant — *Н*.

towards Hellenic culture, and a posthumous son, the famous Shapur II, was elected to occupy the throne even before he was born the coronation ceremony being performed immediately after the Mobed's declaration that the embryo was of the male sex' This monarch reigned for the extraordinarily long period of seventy years and was a contemporary of no fewer than ten Roman Emperors beginning with Galerius and ending with Valentinian II

Shapur dealt a heavy blow to the Romans by conquering the five provinces beyond the Tigris and several other fortresses in 363 A C The Romans were utterly routed and Julian was killed Thus gloriously for Iran closed the long series of campaigns waged by Shapur, who was deservedly termed the "Great" for having raised Sassanian Persia to a position higher than any it had occupied in the past

Shapur the Great who passed away in 379 A C, was of superb physique and remarkable valour, and was well served by a devoted people He possessed not only military talents of a high order, but also tenacity of purpose that was lacking in many members of the dynasty He founded many cities

Shapur left Persia at the zenith of her power and glory in possession of favourable treaty with the great Western Power at whose prestige he had dealt a deadly blow and with no powerful enemy threatening the eastern boundaries

Shapur was surnamed by the Arab authors *Dhou l aktaf* Lord of the Shoulders, without doubt on account of his bodily strength The Pahlavi expression is not known Masaudi says that he gained this appellation from having dislocated the shoulders of his captives, the Arab pirates of his maritime borders Mirkhond says he strung his prisoners together by piercing a hole through their shoulders Gibbon erroneously spells the title *Dhulaknaf* or Protector of the Nation (See also Noeldeke *Tabari* p 52, and *Journal Asiatique*, December 1841, p 510)

The ancient orthography of the name Shapur was in Persian *Shahputra*, 'son of a king' which we find in the Cuneiform inscriptions under the form *hshathiya puthra* In the inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam, Hapirabad, Taq-e Bostan and Takht-e Jamshid the name of Shapur is found as *Shahpuhr* (with the final *i* the nominative sign) The form under which this name (*Sapor*) has come down to us is the transcription of Greek contemporaries with the *u* for our knowledge that the Persians pronounced the double syllable of the word *por* or *pour* with one long vowel But the form *Σαβωρ* also occurs among the authors of the Sassanian epoch Cunningham has published (*Num Chron* 1893, p 173 pl IV) the copper coins of the type of Shapur II struck probably in the distant provinces, with a legend in Kufic characters where it is read

Shaboro Lastly, on the Sassanian engraved gems we find the form *Shâpouh*

In the inscription A of *Tâqî Bostân* deciphered by S de Sacy in 1809, *Shâpûr II* styles himself —*Mazdaïasn vohîâ Shah-pûhri malkân malkâ Airân ve Anrân, minoçhetri men Yazdân, bara mazdaïasn vohîâ Auhrmazdî .napî vohîâ Narsahî mal kân malkâ* “The Ormazd worshipper, excellent *Shapûr*, king of kings of Iran and non Irân, of divine origin from God, son of the Ormazd worshipper, excellent Hormazd, grandson of the excellent Narses, king of kings”

Mordtmann describes under No 270 (Z D M G, 1880, p 66) a drachme of *Shapûr II* showing on the reverse a word which he read *Yazdikert*. Thus he discovers and introduces a king of this name (other than the three already known) who revolted against *Shâpûr* and whose reign was very short, but the existence of this *Yezdegerd* is not mentioned by the historians or any other writer. The reading of Mordtmann is very contestable in view of the facsimile that is given of the legend

Description of the Coin

Metal—Gold

Weight—110 grams

Size—78"

Obverse—The bust of king to right, wearing a mural crown with three points embattled, surmounted by the traditional globe, with the fillets of the diadem floating behind the head. The hair is brought back and arranged in a cluster of locks. A moustache and a short curly beard, an earring and a necklace of pearls with jewels in front. Bust clothed in dress.

In front of the face instead of a legend a succession of dots parallel to the *grenetis*.

The whole device enclosed in a *grenetis*.

Reverse—The fire-altar similar to those of *Ardeshir I* with out the side personages. Fillets are floating from both sides of the upper base of the altar, the column of which is fluted.

On both sides of the fire parallel to the *grenetis*, an illegible legend. *Grenetis*.

As far as I am aware with few rare exceptions all the gold and silver coins of *Shâpûr* that have been published have some legend on the obverse whether legible, barbaric or indistinct whereas this coin has no legend whatever on the face. Mordtmann (Z D M G, 1880, p 149) gives the number of the gold coins known to him of this king to be 18. Since then the Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta (vol I, 1906) published three more. One is in the cabinet of Mr Maneck R Settna and this one of mine brings the total number of known gold coins of *Shapûr II* to 23.

'Obverse.



Reverse



FURDOONJEE D J PARUCK

11st May, 1916

175 THE WEIGHTS OF AURANGZEB'S DĀMS

I do not know if the attention of students of Mughal numismatics has been ever arrested by the change which is observable in the weights of all those Dāms of Aurangzeb's which were issued *after* the fifth regnal year. There are four examples only of Aurangzeb's copper coinage in the Indian Museum. All the four weigh between 210 and 215 grs. only (Nos 1646—1649), and the two which bear dates are of the 8th and 39th years. The Panjab Museum contains in all 41 specimens of which six are fractional pieces of 30, 37, 61, (2) 90 and 150 grs. (Nos 1980, 1991, 1986—7, 1953 and 1970). Of the rest only nine have weights ranging from a minimum of 285 to a maximum of 320 grs. It is unfortunate that all but three of them are not dated but those three (Nos 1967, 1968, 1978) are of the fourth and fifth years. An overwhelming majority, viz. 25 weigh much less, No 1969 falls so low as 190 grs., and the heaviest (No 1982) does not rise above 217. These light coins come from different mints in all parts of the Empire—Akbarabad, Bairat, Haidarabad, Surat, Shahjahanabad, Katak, Lahore, Macchilipatan, Multan and Narnol—and their dates range from the seventh year to the forty-ninth. At the same time there is not a coin of the heavy type which is of any year subsequent to the fifth. It is evidently impossible under the circumstances to attribute the decline in weight to the dishonesty or caprice of an individual mint-master or governor of a province. It is equally difficult to suppose that it was part of a scheme for the debasement of the currency, by a government hanging on the verge of bankruptcy, for no synchronous diminution in the weight or standard of fineness of the Muhr or the rupee is perceptible. Nor are there any signs, at least in the first five years of this very long reign, of an exhausted treasury or even of financial embarrassment. What then is the explanation? I beg permission to quote *in extenso* two passages on the subject from the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*:

چون در آن ایام خمس مس رو نه کمی آورده بود صرافان بلد احمد آباد پول سیاه آهنی را رواج داده ندرج گران می فروختند از بخت مهابت خان از اطراف مس بسیار طلوع داشتند در وزن مس نه پول سیاه سابق چیری کم کرده سکه منارک رسانده رواج داد و نه داروعد دار الصرب سند داد که حاصل پول سیاه معای باشد چون داروعد اس معنی را بدوای صوبه اظهار نموده گفت بدون سند حضور حاصل پول سیاه نمی توانم گذاشت ناظم در جواب آن گفت که اگر آن سند در درگاه عالم پناه منظور می افتد بهر و آ بده حاصل یک سال بحرانه عاصره عائد خواهد کرد چون حقیق صدر از روی و نافع نعمی اندس رسید حکم حهاں مطاع عالم مطمع بنام بدوای صوبه کرامت صدور نوبت نه دام نون چهارده ماشه مقرر شد و سکه منارک رسانده راجه گردانید و حاصل یک سال معای دانند .

This passage occurs in a chapter of which the heading is,
 "The Fixing of the Weight of the Dim at fourteen Mīshas "

(مقرر شدن دام نون چهارده ماشه)

Mirāt-i-Ahmadī, Bombay Lithograph 1307 A H
 Part I pp 279—280

"As in those days, the commodity, copper, had become scarce, the money changers of the city of Ahmadabad had black coins of iron [made and] circulated, and they exchanged them only at exorbitant (*lit* heavy) rates. Consequently, Mahabat Khan [the Subhādār of Ahmadabad] ordered out a large quantity of copper from all quarters, and had it stamped with the auspicious name though a slight reduction was made in the weight, in comparison with the old copper (*lit* black) coins. He issued to the Superintendent of the mint a *sanad* (authority, voucher) for writing off the annual profit made from the copper (*lit* black) coinage. The Superintendent reported the matter to the *Diwan* [the chief Financial Officer] of the *Subah* who declared that without a *sanad* (authority or sanction) from His Majesty, he could not forego the said revenue from the copper money. The Governor of the Province replied that if his *sanad* was upheld by the Court which was the Asylum of the Universe, it would be [so much the] better, otherwise, his humble self (*lit* the slave) would [out of his private purse] pay to the Public Treasury the amount of annual revenue [made by the State from the copper coinage]. When the above-mentioned fact reached the August Presence through the Reports [of the Official Newswriters] an Imperial (*lit* universally-obeyed and world subduing) mandate was beneficently addressed to

the Diwan [to the effect] that the weight of the *Dam* was [now] fixed at 14 *Mashas*, that pieces of that weight should be coined and circulated, and that one year's revenue of the mint was not to be accounted for (*lit* excused, foregone) "

The second passage is as follows —

منصديان عمارات دعای و دیگر کار حلیات ملکہ احمدآباد بدرگه عرش
اشعاده التماس نمودند کہ فعل اویں در اخوة مردوران و عمره فلوں کہ نور
نسب و یک ماشه نو ثنوة می شد و از ابتدای ماه شوال سده مذکور
[۱۷۶] رواج فلوں مذکور بر غرب گردید فلوں سکه صبار عالمگیری کہ
نور چہارده ماشه مقرر گشته رائج شد مردوران اویں فلوں سابق سکه حال
نی گیرند و میگویند کہ بفارب ده پانزده دارد چون اس معنی دعوی مقدس
رسد بدیوی صوبہ حکم شد کہ بقراردہ پانزہ دومہ دعای ثنکہ لخواہ
صدادہ باشند از آن روز در گجرات ثنکہ سہ فلوں مقرر شدہ *

(*Mirat*, Part I, p 282, ll 4-11)

"The *Mutasaddis* (officials) in charge of the garden houses and other *karkhanas* [public establishments] of the city of Ahmadabad represented to the celestial court that the wages of day labourers and others had been formerly paid in a *Falus* weighing 21 *Mashas*, but the circulation of the said *Falus* had been suspended (*lit* laid aside) since the beginning of the month of Shawwal of the aforesaid year [1076 A H], and a [nother] *Falus* of the auspicious 'Ālamgiri stamp, of which the weight had been fixed at 14 *Mashas* had become current, that the day labourers refused to accept the present coins in lieu of the old (*lit* former) *Falus*, and said that the one differed from the other as ten [differs] from fifteen. When this fact reached the August Presence, the Diwan of the Subah received orders to the effect that in the payment of daily wages, the value of the *Tankā* in *Falus* should be raised in the proportion of ten to fifteen. From that time, the *Tanka* has been fixed in Gujarat at three *Falus*."

It would appear that the price of copper had, for some reason, gone up considerably at this time, that the merchants, as well as the state had ceased to get copper money coined on account of the little or no profit left to either by the rise in the cost of the metal and that the deficiency of the chief circulating medium of the poorer classes was productive of great inconvenience. It must be borne in mind that the Mughal system was a system of *free coinage in all the metals*. In other words any private individual had the right of bringing bullion to the mint in *any* quantities and have it coined on defraying

the actual cost of coinage (or 'brassage'), at certain specified rates, and paying a seigniorage of about five per cent. The regulations on the subject may be found in a chapter of the *Āin-i Albārī*, headed the 'Profit of the Dealers in Gold and Silver,' from which the following lines relating to the coinage of copper will bear to be quoted —

"1044 dams buy one *man* of copper, i.e. at the rate of 26d 2½ per ser. Out of this quantity one ser is burnt away in melting, and as each ser yields 30 dams, there are coined altogether 1170 dams, from which the merchant takes his capital, and 18d 19½ as profit, 33d 10 go to the workmen, and 15d 8 for necessities (viz 13d 8 for charcoal, 1d for water, and 1d for clay), 58½d go to the State"—*Blochmann, Āin, Tr I, p 38.*

It is easy to understand that the wages of the workmen and the cost of the "Necessaries" would not be at all affected by an extraordinary rise in the price of copper. It would be the profit of the merchant (about 19 dams) and the seigniorage (58½d) which would be in danger of being considerably reduced, if not extinguished¹. It is also evident that under such circumstances, it would be to the interest, neither of the merchant nor of the State, to invest capital in the coinage of copper pieces of the normal weight, as neither could be expected to sacrifice private advantage on the altar of public convenience. The action of the Subahdar is therefore easily intelligible and we can recognise the necessity of reducing the weight of the coins.

We are expressly told in the second passage from the *Mirāt* that the weight of the old *Falus* was 21 Mashas. We learn from the first that the new dam weighed only 14 Mashas. Abul Fazl states that the weight of Akbar's dam was 1 Tola 8 Māshās and 7 Surkhs or 20½ Mashās which is only ½ of a Māshā or one Surkh (*Rati*) short of the weight given by the *Mirāt*. It is not perhaps unworthy of notice that the actual weight of two of

¹ The *Mirāt-i Ahmādī* tells us that the annual profit made by the Ahmadabād mint was 6 174 500 dams. Part II 122 ll 12 13.

NOTE.—The last passage quoted by Mr Hodiwala does not hold for all the mints. Heavy dams were struck at e.g. Jahangirnagar and Shāhjahānabād (?) but light dams issued from such Southern Indian mints as Sholapur. It is certainly curious that we have not yet found any Lahore copper coins between the reigns of Aurangzeb and Alamgir II. The copper coins of Jahāndār and Farrukhsiyar are usually of light weight but I possess a Farrukhsiyar dam weighing 322 grains. Murad Baksh struck a copper coin at Surat (only 2 specimens known) weighing 310–333 grs.

As regards the copper coins published by me in NS XV as coins of Shāh Alam Bahadur probably struck at Shāhjahānabād, I am convinced that they are issues of Shāh Alam Bahadur but the mint is puzzling. Obviously the dies were made by a very poor artificer.

Aurangzeb's dams of the old type is 320 grs (P M C Nos 1966-7) and that this gives a value of, at least, $15\frac{1}{2}$ grs ($11^{\circ} \times \frac{1}{2}$) for the *Māshā* and of $182\frac{1}{2}$ grs ($11^{\circ} \times 11 = 122$) for the *tolā* of Aurangzeb. Again, one of the *Falus* of the new type weighs as high as 217 grs (P M C No 1982), which weight divided by 14, gives a value for Aurangzeb's *Mashā* of exactly $15\frac{1}{2}$ grs and one of 186 grs for the corresponding *Tolā*.

The last two sentences of the second passage are somewhat obscurely worded, but the meaning is, I think, fairly clear.

"When this fact reached the August Presence, the Diwan of the Subah received orders to the effect that in the payment of daily wages, the value of the *Tankā* in *Falus* should be raised in the proportion of 10 to 15. From that time, the *Tanka* has been fixed in Gujarat at three *Falus*."

These words signify that the *Tankā*—the heavy Akbar shahi *Tanka* of about 640 grs—had an exchange value of two *Falus*, when the latter weighed as much as 21 *Māshās* (or about 320 grs), but that the same piece had now become equivalent to three of the new *Falus*, of which the weight was only 14 *Māshās*. In other words, the weight of the new *Falus* was to that of the old as 14 is to 21, or as 10 is to 15 or as 2 is to 3. The exchange value of the Akbarshahi *Tankā* also, with respect to the new *Falus*, rose therefore from 10 to 15 or from 2 to 3, and the Diwan received orders to pay, wherever an Akbarshahi *Tanka* had been paid before (to the labourers, etc.), three *Falus* and not two.

One thing more perhaps demands notice. According to the *Mirāt*, the first order on the subject was passed by Aurangzeb only in 1076 A H and the second in 1077 A.H. But it appears from the coins themselves that the alteration had been already effected at Shahjahanabad and Akbarabad (P M C 1971-2 and 1954) in 1074 A H (VI-VII R). It is perhaps necessary to bear in mind in this connection, that Mahabat Khan, the Subahdar of Ahmadabad, who is said to have taken action in the matter on his own responsibility, was first appointed to that charge so early as the 16th of Zulhijja 1072 (*Mirāt* I, p. 268) and remained in office up to the 8th of Shawwal, 1077 (ib. p. 282).

All that the writer declares is that in those days (آن ايام) there was a scarcity of the metal and that the Subahdar was obliged to take action. The entire proceeding—the coinage of the new *Falus*, the controversy with the Diwan, the reference to and reply from the capital, probably took some time, and we may reasonably suppose that when the Emperor passed final orders on the subject, he merely authorized the Superintendent of the provincial mint to follow, in the matter of weight, the standard already fixed for the metropolitan establishments of Akbarabad and Shahjahanabad.

So far as to the metrology of Aurangzeb's *Falus*. The

copper coins of Shāh Ālam I are extremely scarce. There is not a single specimen in the Indian Museum, and there are only two in the great collection of the capital of the Panjāb, though the last three years of that Emperor's life and reign were passed at Lahore. A third specimen of Shāhjahanabad mint (?) is mentioned by Mr. Whitehead (*Num Sup XV*, art 89, p 661), but its attribution to Bahādur Shāh, Shāh Ālam I is not free from doubt. The first of these coins weighs 315 grs (P M C No 2096), the weight of the second is not given, and that of the third is 330 grs. A passage in the *Mirāt* shows that here also the son discarded the standard set by the father.

و نیز حکیم معلی صادر شد که پول سیاه دام عالمگیری را شکسته و در
عهد پادشاه عفران پناه که نور بیست و یک ماشه [دود ؟] به سکه مملکت
رساند چنانچه در آن وقت پول سیاه ناز و نداشت رائج گشته بود بعد
آن بهمان وزن عالمگیری عود نمود *

(*Mirāt I*, p 405, l 17, to 406, l 1)

The passage occurs in the author's account of the year 1120 A H and may be thus translated —

"Likewise, the exalted Mandate was issued [to the effect] that the black money of the 'Ālamgiri Dām should be broken up and stamped again with the auspicious name [of the Emperor], of the weight [obtaining] in the days of the Emperor under the protection of the [Divine] Pardon, [Shah Jahān] which was 21 *Māshās*. So, black money of that weight was current for a time (*Muddat*), but afterwards, it reverted to that same 'Ālamgiri [standard of] weight."

Of the statement made in the last part of the second sentence also, we have unexpected confirmation in the weight of the copper coin of Akbarabad mint (210 grs) which Mr. Whitehead has attributed, on apparently good grounds to Farrukh Siyar (*Num Sup XV*, art 89, p 663)

S H HODIVĀLĀ.

Junagadh

176 SOME HEAVY RUPEES OF BAHADUR SHĀH SHĀH 'ĀLAM I.

I should like to say a few words about a matter to which my attention was drawn only the other day, while turning over the leaves of the Indian Museum Catalogue. In it are registered four Rupees of Bahadur Shah Shāh 'Ālam I (Nos 1666, 1666a [1122 A H IV R], No 1667 [1123 A H V R] and No 1668 [1124 A H VI R]), of which the actual weights are 181 and 185 grs. It is true that all the four coins come from the same mint—'Azimābad Patna,—and one may be inclined to pass them

by as "freak coins" uttered by some Subahdār or Mintmaster with a craving for innovation. But the following passage from the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* militates against such a supposition —

و در سال هزار و صد و نهم و دو حسب الحکم اقدس بنام دیوان صوبه
نصاب ورود فرمود که درندلا حکم چهارمطاع آفتاب شعاع صادر شد که اشرقی
و روینکه سکه مبارک برون یک توله مسکوک میگردید ناسد چندی بدان وزن
سکه بعمل آمد بانی الحال موقوف گشته بدستور عهد پیشین حکم شد *

Mirāt-i-Ahmadī, Bombay Lithograph, 1307 A H
Part I, p 408, ll 10 13

"And in the year 1122, a *Hasb ul Hukm*¹ was graciously ordered to be issued to the Diwan of the Subah in these words 'The Mandate which is universally obeyed and [dazzling] like the rays of the sun is now issued that the *ashrafi* and the rupee bearing the auspicious coin legend should be made equal in weight to a *tolā*' For some time this was observed, with respect to the weight of the coins, but it was soon afterwards suspended, and orders were issued for following the practice of former times "

There is a reference to this innovation in Khafi Khan also, which may be quoted from Dowson's translation

"Directions were given [in 1119 A H] that the new rupee should be increased half a *Masha* in weight, and *lacs* were accordingly coined of that weight but as in the payment of *tanikhwāh* and in commercial transactions, it was received at only the old rate, the new rule was discontinued "

Elliot and Dowson, VII, p 393

These statements are clear and explicit, and show that these comparatively heavy rupees were struck in pursuance of the express orders of the Emperor. These coins are now, of course, rare, as they must have been melted down, and otherwise driven out of circulation in accordance with the so-called Law of Gresham

There are, as I have said, only four specimens in the Indian Museum, but it is just possible that some of the 94 rupees of Bahadur Shah Shah 'Ālam I which are registered by Mr Whitehead in the P M C, may be of this heavy type, though the weights are not recorded

It is clear that the Imperial desire to make the rupee uniform in weight with the *tolā* was not gratified, for the reasons mentioned, and this is stated by both our authorities in unmis-

¹ *Hasb-ul-Hukum*. A patent or order under the seal of the vizir with these initial words signifying 'according to command' *Gladwin Bengal Revenue Accounts*, 1796 p 113.

takeable terms, though they differ as to the first year of issue. But the specimens in existence indicate that in the province of Behār at least the Prince Governor ('Azim us Shan) continued to strike these heavier coins much longer than in any other part of the Mughal dominions probably on account of his knowledge of the keenness of his Imperial father for an alteration of the standard. The earliest date on these specimens is 1122 A H, and this may be urged in favour of the contention by the *Mirāt*, that the first year of issue was 1122 A H instead of the 1119 A H of Khafi Khan, who is often inaccurate in chronological matters.

But this is not all that these passages tell us. It is obvious that if the *actual* weights of the coins which were intended to be equal to the *tolā* are 184 and 185 grs. the *tolā* itself must have weighed *at least as much*, if not a grain or two more in the time of Bahadur Shah Shah Ālam I. The bearing of this fact on the question of the weight of the *tolā* of Akbar and of the Mughal period in general is evident, but this question must be reserved for another occasion.

S H HODIVALA

Junagadh

177 THE MINT NAME SRINAGAR

The identity of the mint name Srinagar which occurs on several issues of the Akbari period, with the capital of Kashmir has been the subject of considerable doubt and difficulty. Mr H. Nelson Wright has summed up the case with an evident leaning to the other side, thus: "The capital of Kachemir," says Bernier (Constable's edition, p. 397) bears the same name as its kingdom. Beyond the coins alluded to there are none in Akbar's name struck at Kashmir, but rupees and copper coins are known from the Srinagar mint. Whether this Srinagar is the capital of Kashmir, under its ancient and present name, or whether it is the capital of Garhwal, is uncertain. The fact that under pre-Mughal rule Srinagar was called '*Kashmir*' and the existence of the gold coin of Akbar struck at Kashmir, and the uniform use of the name by subsequent Emperors, point to the latter view. The name of Srinagar was restored to the capital of Kashmir by the Sikhs in 1819" (I M C, p. lvi). I must confess my inability to accept the Garhwal hypothesis and I beg to be permitted to challenge the grounds on which it is based. I submit that the factor which is really "uncertain" is the existence of the Srinagar of Garhwal at all, in the reign of Akbar, and I venture to add that even if it were possible to advance any convincing proof of that existence there is nothing whatever to show that Akbar had been able to establish his authority permanently there.

The history of Garhwal is veiled in considerable obscurity,

but the little that is known points to Srinagar having been founded by a Rājā named Mahipat S3h, some time after the seventeenth century had begun.¹ (Imperial Gazetteer, Ed. 1908. XXIII. 105; XII. 165). The Imperial Gazetteer is not a primary authority, and the source of the information is unfortunately not mentioned; but the statement is, for all that, not unworthy of attention. But whether the Gazetteer is wrong or right, it is certain that no reference to the Srinagar of Garhwāl has been found in the Musalmān histories that have been published, which is earlier than the eighth year of the reign of Shāh Jahān (1044 A.H.). It is unfortunate that the chapter of the Bādshāhnāmah of Abdul Hamid Lāhori, in which the first Mughal invasion of the Srinagar of Garhwāl is described, has been omitted in Dowson's translation. It is headed "Capture by Najābat Khān of some of the forts of the Zamindār of Srinagar and his disastrous retreat (*lit.* disappointed return) on account of mismanagement." The heading itself is significant, and the gist of it is that Najābat Khān, Faujdār of the Dāmān-i-Koh of the Subah of the Panjāb, volunteered his services against the Rājā of Srinagar. He would compel the Rājā to promise a tribute, and if he refused, he (Najābat Khān) would deprive him of his territory, provided the Emperor gave him two thousand horsemen in addition to his own territorial forces. His offer was accepted, and after taking several fortresses (Sherghadh, Kālpi, Birāt, and Sāntur) and defeating the enemy at a place called Kotāl Talāo, he arrived within thirty kos of Srinagar. The Rājā promised to pay ten lakhs to the Exchequer, and to make a present of one lakh to Najābat Khān himself within a fortnight. But finding that Najābat's supplies had run short, and that his troops were without food, he devised all sorts of excuses and, eventually, paid only one lakh after a month and a half. The winter then came on, the passes were closed by the Garhwālis, and Najābat had to beat a shameful retreat with the loss of almost his entire army. (Bādshāhnāmah, Bibliotheca Indica Text, Vol. I, part II, pp. 90-93). The story of this abortive attempt to conquer Srinagar is told in his usual manner, with several exaggerations and comical additions, by Manucci, who says that the Rājā was known in his own day as Nactirānī (Nāk-Katī Rānā) (Nose cutting Rāja), on account of his having granted their lives to Najābat Khan and his soldiers only on condition of their leaving their noses behind them. (Irvine, Manucci's Storia do Mogor, Vol. I, 215-6 and note). The Māasir-ul Umarā gives a different explanation of the origin of this curious sobriquet (Vol. III, 822-24), but it confirms the account of Najābat Khan's failure, and there can be no doubt that the Mughals were unable to establish their authority in Garhwāl, or

¹ No. 525a I.M.C. is of the 42nd year (1596-7).

at least in that part of it in which Srinagar is situated, before 1065 A H (1654 5 A C) In that year Khahl ullah Khan was despatched at the head of another expedition (Elliot and Dowson Vol VII, pp 105-6) It was only after this that the Rajas of Srinagar became tributary to the Emperors of Delhi, and it was a Raja of Srinagar with whom Sulaiman Shikoh took refuge and by whom he was surrendered to Aurangzeb

It is not denied that some parts of Kumaon had been raided occasionally during the half century of Akbar's rule, but one has only to glance through these passages to realize that there is no mention whatever in them of Srinagar or of the district in which it is situated It is true also that a Raja of Kumaon (Almora) Rudra Chand, came to Amanabad near Lahore under the escort of Kalun, the son of Todarmal, and was induced, with some difficulty, to make his obeisance to Akbar in 997 A H (1587 A C, [Akbarnamah Bibl Ind Text III pp 533 and 537 Badaoni Trans Lowe, Vol II p 377¹] but he did so in all probability because he had an old feud with the Raja of Garhwal and hoped to wrest, with the assistance of the Mughal some of those territories which he had himself unsuccessfully invaded only a few years before (1581 A C) Imperial Gazetteer Vol VII, 165 I have said that Srinagar is nowhere mentioned in the account we possess of the occasional raids into Kumaon which were undertaken by Akbar's generals An examination of the names of the twenty-one Mahals of the Sarbar of Kumaon which are given in the *Amir Akbari* and in which Srinagar is conspicuous by its absence confirms this view (Jarrett *Amir* Trans II 289) The following extracts from the District Gazetteers of British Garhwal and Almora confirm almost everything that has been said above The writer of the historical chapters in both, Mr H G Walton ICS says that they are almost entirely reproduced from the excellent account in Atkinson's *Himalayan Gazetteer* "

Speaking of Garhwal, Mr Walton says —

"The date of a subsequent Raja Mansah, may be fixed by an inscribed grant he has left, about 1547 Mansah was succeeded by Samasah and he by Dularam Sah the first of his line to come in contact with the rising power of the Kumaon Chands At this time Rudra Chand (1565 1597) was supreme in Kumaon, and having reduced Sera in the east sought to add to his dominions also Badhan in the valley of the Pindar a part of the territory of the Raja of Garhwal * * * Rudra Chand died in 1597 and was succeeded by his son, Lakshmi Chand

¹ Badaoni says In this year the Raja of Kumaon who had never nor his father nor grandfather before him (God's curse be upon them) seen an Emperor even in imagination came from the Sawalik Hills to pay his homage to the Emperor at Lahore If the expressions are characteristic they are also highly significant

This prince, desirous of carrying out his father's policy, seven times invaded Garhwal, but was each time repulsed with loss * * * *At this time the reigning Rājā of Garhwāl was Mahipat Sāh, of whom little is known except that he removed the capital from Dewalgarh to Srinagar* and is traditionally said to be the first Raja who consolidated the rule over Garhwal * * * Akbar's Sarkar of Kumaon contained twenty one Mahals, but none of these seem to have been situated in the hills * * * Whatever the reason may have been, the Muhammadans do not ever seem to have subjugated the hill rajas though some expeditions successful to a certain extent, as far as the partial Muhammadan historians may be trusted, were fitted out In 1654-55 Khahl ullah Khān was despatched with 8000 men to coerce the "Zemindar of Srinagar," the only title then conceded to the Raja of Garhwal at that time, Pirthi Sah, the successor of Mahipat Sah The hostile force met with little resistance and speedily overran Dehra Dun, then subject to the Garhwal Rājās but did not penetrate within the hills" (District Gazetteers of the United Provinces, British Garhwal pp 116-117)

In the Volume on Almora we read —

"At the same time, the negative testimony of the *Āin-i-Albari* proves conclusively that no portion of the hills ever paid tribute to Akbar" (District Gazetteers of the United Provinces, Almora, p 172)

But if there is no reference to the Srinagar of Garhwal in the Mughal annals before the reign of Shahjahan, how does the case stand with respect to the Srinagar of Kashmir? Neither Badaoni nor Nizamu d-din Ahmad of the *Tabaqāt-i-Ikbari* is acquainted with any other Srinagar than that of the Happy Valley (Lowe's translation, Vol II, 365, Elliot and Dowson, Vol V, 454, 457) The same is the case with the *Āin*, which explicitly states (Jarrett II, 305 and 384-5) just as do Badaoni and Nizamu d-din (Lowe II, 365, Elliot and Dowson, V, 454), that Srinagar was the capital of the country¹ It is true that the *Albarnāmah* once mentions a Thana of the name of Srinagar in Bengal (Bibl Ind Text III p. 824) but such a place cannot have any connection with the point in dispute All the other eleven references to Srinagar in that "continent of a book" (Vol III, pp 500, 507, 542, 543 553 565, 623 624, 670, 726, 729), of which the earliest belongs to the 31st Regnal year (994 A H) and the latest to the forty second (1005 A H), are applicable to that city only which is repeatedly called the دارالملک (Metropolis) of Kashmir (*Ibid* III, 542 624)

¹ The Srinagar of Kashmir is mentioned also on pp 311 and 324 of Jarrett *Āin* II

It may be true that the coins of all the Emperors after Akbar are marked by the "uniform use" of the name 'Kashmir' for the city, but it is also a fact that *Srinagar*, as the name of the capital, never actually disappeared from either the popular or the official cognition after the death of Akbar. The Emperor Jahangir, who apparently was the first ruler to banish *Srinagar* from the mints, himself states in his Autobiography, that "the name of the city was *Srinagar*" (*Tuzuk*, Trans by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol II, p 141), and this he does in his account of the *fifteenth* regnal year (1029 30 A.H.)¹ The *Khulāṭat ul Tawārīkh*, as well as the *Chahār Gulshan*, which were both compiled from official records of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, agree in recognising *Srinagar* as the capital of the country (Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb* pp 111 and 132). But granting that the chief city of Kashmir was never spoken of as *Srinagar* between the year of Akbar's death and the conquest of the province by the Sikhs in 1818 A.C., this does not at all affect the point at issue for the coins before us are the coins not of any of Akbar's successors but his own.

The fact is that both names—Kashmir as well as *Srinagar*—were used for the metropolis even in Akbar's time. Badaoni speaks in a passage, which Lowe has misunderstood, of the city of Kashmir (در دینکی شهر کشمیر near the city of Kashmir")

Text, Vol II, pp 369 370². In the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* also Kashmir is spoken of both as a city and a country (Elliot and Dowson Vol V, pp 464-5). I submit therefore that there is no reason for not attributing the *Srinagar* issues of Akbar to the metropolis of Kashmir, and we must take it that one city was called by two different names on the coins—a phenomenon to which several parallels can be found in Indian numismatics.

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178 BAHADURGARH

"Bahadurgarh, with its alternative names of Nandgaon and Bikapur (*sic*), is given by Jadunath Sarkar in his 'India of Aurangzeb' as one of the forts in the province of Aurangabad" (Whitehead, P. M. C. lvi). Mr Sarkar's authorities are the *Chahār Gulshan* and Tieffenthaler (I 479). The former asserts that the old name was Bikapur (Sarkar p 163). The

¹ Ten thousand Rupees were given for the expenses of the *bulghur* *ālāna* of Kashmir to the *wakil* of Mirza Ali Beg the governor of that place to send to *Srinagar*. *Tuzuk*, Tr Vol I p 77.

² Lowe read this *در دینکی شهر کشمیر* and translated it as near one of the cities of Kashmir but he saw that it was *Srinagar* that was meant (II, p 331 and note).

latter declares that it was Nandgaon (Sarkar, p lxxxvii) The *Chahār Gulshan* itself is not a work of the highest authority, and the solitary manuscript on which Mr Sarkar had to rely was admittedly full of blunders, being characterized as the work of a scribe "more remarkable for the beauty of his penmanship than the soundness of his Persian scholarship" (ib p xxi) It is clear, therefore, that we must have, for a satisfactory identification some more convincing and reliable authority Now Grant Duff states — 'The viceroy [Khan Jahan Bahadur] went in pursuit of them [the Mahrattas who had appeared in different parts of Aurangabad and Ahmadnagar] in various directions, but without success, and at last cantoned for the rains at Paigaoon on the Beema where he erected a fortification and gave it the name of Bahadurgarh' The historian of the Mahrattas places the event in 1672 A C and adds in a footnote that the place 'does not retain this name, but continued upwards of forty years one of the principal depots of the Moghalarmy' (*History of the Mahrattas*, Reprint 1873, p 114 and note) Grant Duff's authority for the statement was the Bundela Officer's Narrative in Jonathan Scott's *Dekkan*, where we read

Bahadur Khan learning that the Mahrattas were collecting in the neighbourhood of Poonah, left his baggage at Chummar Boondah, and by forced marches came up with and gave them a signal defeat, in which Soopkern Bondela behaved with particular gallantry He then moved to Burrageum twenty coss distant from Ahmednuggur on the banks of the Beemrah a river separating the Hyderabad territories from those of Bijapur and which has its source from the mountains of Kokun at a place called Bhameeau Sunkeree near the fort of Loeghur Here Bahadur to perpetuate his memory built a fort and erected a magnificent palace which he called Bahadurghur J Scott Ferishta's *History of the Dekkan* vol II pp 34-5

Let us now see what we can glean about Bahadurgarh from the Musalman chronicles themselves

In the first place then I find Khafi Khan saying

وسط ماہ رحب [۱۱۱۶] ار آن مکان [دہگنوں] کوچ فرمودہ
منوجہ بہادر گڑہ عرف ہرگنوں شدہ *

Bibliotheca Indica Text II p 539, ll 16-17

And in the middle of the month of Rajab [1116 A H] he [the Emperor] marched from that place [Deogaon] towards Bahadurgadh otherwise called Baigaoon "

This older form Baigaoon also occurs by itself in Khafi Khan's *Text* on p 449 (1107 A H), p 460 (1110 A H) and p 503 (1113 A H) and the variant readings given by the Editor are ہندگنوں - ہرگنوں - ہرگنوں and ہرگنوں (Text II pp 449 and

460, notes) The old name occurs also, though only once in the *Ma'āsir*: 'Alamgiri as پیدگرن (Paidgaon) (Bibl Ind Text, p 409, l 5)

The new name Bahadurgarh occurs so many as sixteen times in the *Ma'āsir*, the earliest reference belonging to the year 1095 A H (p 240) The same name is also found in Khāfi Khān, p 383 (1101 A H), p 415 (1104 A H), and p 509 (1113 A H)

But where was this Bahadurgarh or Paidgaon or Pairgaon or Bargion? In the first place, we learn from the *Ma'āsir* (p 322) that it was in the neighbourhood of Akloj or Asa'ad nagar, which is itself fifty five miles N W of Sholapur Next Khāfi Khān informs us that a woman was carried by a flood from Bahadurgarh to Aurangzeb's camp at Islampūr or Brahmapūr on the Bhima sixteen miles S E of Pandharpūr (*Imperial Gazetteer*, ed 1908 vol IX p 10) in only five or six watches (Khāfi Khān Text II, p 452) The author of the *Ma'āsir* describes Aurangzeb's route from Kelna or Vishalgadh to Bahadurgarh as lying through Malkapur Nabishahdurg (ie Parnali) Bargaon the river Krishna and Asa'adnagar (pp 463-468) It will be found that the Pedgion in the Ahmadnagar district which is on the north bank of the Bhima and eight miles south of Shrigonda (18°37' N and 74°42' E) satisfies all these conditions¹ In the Ahmadnagar volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer* we read "About 1680 Pedgion was one of the chief stores and a frontier post of the Moghal army, and the ruined fortifications which from a distance give an imposing appearance to the town were built by the Deccan Viceroy Khan Jahan Bahadur who camped here during the monsoon of 1672 in pursuit of Shivaji Another of Khan Jahan's works is a fairly preserved channel or conduit for bringing water from the Bhima The water was raised from the Bhima by an elephant *Mot* and a Persian wheel The *Mot* and a tower for the Persian wheel are still fairly preserved Khan Jahan gave Pedgaon the name of Bahadurgarh, which it has not retained In 1673, the English traveller Fryer notices Pedgaon on the Bhima, three days' journey from Junnar where the Moghals had a large host of 40 000 horse under Bahadur Khan (Fryer, *East India and Persia*, pp 139 141)" *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol XVII, pp 732 733²

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¹ Shrigonda or Champārgondā is 3½ miles south of Ahmadnagar city (*In p Gazetteer* XXII 309)

² It need scarcely be added that Tieffenthaler's Vandgaon (پندگرن) is due to a misreading of Paidgaon پیدگرن, as it would be written in Persian There is a Bahadurgarh in Rohtak district Panjab which is a place of some pretensions but there is good authority for believing that

179 'A'AZAMNAGAR'

The earliest coin published of the rare Southern India mint of A'azamnagar is a rupee of Aurangzeb dated 50 R (N S V § 89) * * * There are one or two other A'azamnagar rupees exactly resembling those already mentioned but where the mint name is accompanied by a second name, and this latter name, mainly on the strength of two published coins of Kam Bakhsh, has been read as Gohulgarh. This place which must have been in the Dakhan should not be confounded with the Gohulgarh near Delhi" (Whitehead, P M C p xli)

I may be permitted to state that A'azamnagar was the name given by Aurangzeb to the fortress of Belgam. The statements of Khafi Khan and the *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgiri* leave little room for doubt on the subject, though the blundering carelessness of copyists is responsible for errors which may apparently obscure the issue. In the first place, then, Khafi Khan says that Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, when on the way to the conquest of Adoni in 1099 A H, passed by the fortress of *Malgāun* ملگنور which was one of the famous forts subject to Bijapur. "He was told that the governor of the fortress was dead and that the garrison had put forward his son, a boy of tender years, as Qil'adar or Commandant. Orders were issued for investing the fort, and the besieged after making futile attempts at defence submitted and delivered the keys of the stronghold, after the presentation of which it was renamed A'azamnagar بعد عریس آن قلعد را عظم نگر موسوم ساختند (Bib Ind Text Vol II p 372 ll 3 9)

It is true that the name is written in the body of the text ملگنور, but a footnote adds the variant reading ملگنور. The same event including the story of the boy-commandant, is recorded in the *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgiri*, with this difference that the old name is clearly written ملگنور (Balgāun), and the new name A'azamābad. A footnote records at the same time the readings ملگنور and اعظم نگر (Bib Ind Text, p 315 ll 1 9). These discrepancies would be perplexing but for the occurrence of the double name A'azamnagar Balgāun in another passage

چس قلعے حاکم بہادر صوبہ دار بیجاپور بعد صدمہ فوجداری دلوگوں
عالمگانی واعظم نگر ملگنور و بعد داری ساتپ گتوار بعد صدمہ حاکم مقرر شد *

(Bibl Ind. Text, p. 474, ll 1 3)

it acquired that name only in the second quarter of the 18th century. Elliot Supplementary Glossary ed. Beames II 120 Imperial Gazetteer ed. 1903 VI 194. The coins are of the reigns of Bahadur Shāh Shāh Alam I Jahandar and Farrukhsiyar that is, several years earlier

"Chin Qilich Khān Bahadur, Subahdar of Bijapur was, on account of the transfer of Saif Khān, appointed to the Faujdārī of the 'Ādil-Khānī Talkokan and A'azamnagar Belgāon and the Thanahdārī of Sampgaon" [1114 A H]

Two years later, Saif Khān was restored and 'appointed Qil'adār and Faujdār of A'azamnagar and Talkokan on the transfer of Chin Qilich Khān" (*Ibid*, p 496 ll 4 6)

I venture to think that a comparison of these passages, one with the other, can leave little doubt as to the true readings. The two authors correct each other and also themselves, and we may take it as fairly certain that the original name was ملکان and not ملکان and that the new name was اعظم نگر and not اعظم آباد. The fact that A azam Shah took the fort while on his way to Adoni, the stress laid on its strength and renown, the connection with the Bijapurī Talkokan and with Sampgaon all go far to establish the identity of the place with the modern Belgaum. The district of Belgaum had come into the possession of the Bijāpūris after the battle of Talikotā in 1565 A C and remained under them until 1686 (*Imp Gaz* VII 148). Sampgaon is in the same district and the Imperial Gazetteer informs us that 'the finest Musalman remains in Belgaum district are the fort and Saif Mosque at Belgaum and the mosque and tombs at Hukeri and Sāmpgaon" (*ib* VII 148).

The following passages from the Gazetteer of Belgaum may also be quoted —

According to Mr Stokes (*Belgaum* 45), after the fall of Bijapur the fort of Belgaum remained for some years in possession of Aurangzeb's second son Azam and from him was called Azamnagar * * * The province of Azamnagar formed the western boundary of the district of Bankapur and it contained within it the district of Gokak of which the town of Gokak was the head place' (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol XI 376 note). And of Gokak, we are told that in 1685 it is mentioned as a town of note and the head quarters of a district or Sarkar that surrendered to the Moghals (*Orme's Historical Fragments* 144 Stokes' *Belgaum* 43) * * * In a Maratha revenue statement prepared about 1789 Gokak appears under the Azamnagar or Belgāon Sarkar as the head quarters of a pargana or subdivision with a yearly revenue of £1125 (Rs 11,250) Waring's *History of the Marathas* 245" *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol XI p 363.

Gokak has a very old fort and it is probably the Gokage which is mentioned in an inscription of A C 1047 as having been laid siege to by Akkadevi the aunt of the Western Chalukya King Someshwar (1042-1068) 'A fort standing on an isolated peak behind the town which is said to have been built by one of the 'Ādilshahī Sultans of Bijapur still exists' (*Imperial Gazetteer* ed 1908 Vol XII 307).

I have no desire to say anything positive on such a matter

but it seems to me permissible to suggest that the true reading of the Mint name is "A'azamnagar Gokāl" and not "A'azamnagar Gokulgarh" I venture to add that this new reading agrees with the excellent specimen which I have seen in Mr Thānawāllā's cabinet and also with the traces of the name on Dr Taylor's coin (*Num Sup XIV*, Plate 86, Fig 11)

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180 PANJNAGAR.

The mint-name 'Panjnagar,' which appears on a single Half Rupee of Jehangir's, is very difficult to identify Mr Whitehead says that "the reading is to some extent tentative as the place is unknown, but no other name suggests itself" (P M C LXII). It is possible that the discovery of other specimens may prove the incorrectness of this reading. Meanwhile, I may be permitted to say that a place of the name of Panchnagar is mentioned in the *Āin-i Akbarī* as being included in the Sarkar of the Rechnā Doab in the Subah of Lahore (Jarrett, *Āin Tr II*, 320). The place must have been of some importance as it is stated elsewhere to have given its name to one of the sixteen *mahāls* into which one of the eight *sawāils* (districts) of the whole Subah was divided (*Ibid*, p 110). The name itself reminds one of 'Hashtnagar', which is popularly derived from the "eight towns which are now seated close together along the lower course of the Swat river" (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p 50). It is perhaps not unworthy of note that another locality with a similar name 'Panchgrami' ("five villages"?) is found in the Bari Doab list (*Āin*, II, 318), and is also mentioned once in the Akbar-namah, in a manner indicating that it was somewhere near Lahore and Kāsūr (*Bibl Ind Text*, III, 529).

The letters, however, which have been supposed to stand for 'nagar,' are far from clear and it is at least equally probable that the correct reading is Punch or perhaps "Punchnagar"—written with a *Pesh* or *Zimma* only, instead of a 'uāw'. The Punch or Pukh pass into Kashmir says Vigne, which quits "the road on the second day from Bhimbur, and joins the Baramula pass at Uri, two days from the valley, is rarely closed, either for horse or foot, all the year round" (*Travels in Kashmir*, Vol I, 147). It was situated "on the high road of the Mogul Emperors from Lahore into Kashmir" (Vigne, I, 234), and there can be no doubt that Jehangir himself passed through it at least once in his life. "As the purpose of visiting the eternal spring of the rose-garden of Kashmir was settled in my mind," says the Imperial autobiographer in his account of the Fourteenth regnal year, "I sent off Nuru d din Quli to hasten on before, to repair, as far as was possible, the

ups and downs of the Punch route to it and to prepare it so that the passage of laden beasts over difficult hilltops might be accomplished with ease and that the men should not undergo labour and hardship" (*Tuzuk-i-Jalāngīr*, Tr Rogers and Beveridge Vol II pp 97 98 and p 133 See also Elliot and Dowson, VI, p 367) The road through Punch is mentioned also by the author of the *Ālamgīr-nāmah* who says that the distance from Blimbar to Kashmir (Srinagar) by that route was ninety nine Imperial koss (*Bibl Ind Text* p 820) A reference may be invited also to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography* from which it becomes clear that the town lies on a high road frequented even in the time of Hiouen Thsang, and that the name is pronounced by the Kashmiris themselves without the long 'u' "It is called *Punje* by Wilford's surveyor Mirz-i-Moḥal Beg and Punch by Vigne both of whom actually visited the place" (p 128) See also *Āl-i-Ilbari*, Jarrett, II 437 note 3 On the other hand the attribution of the coin to Punch in Kashmir is open to the objection that in the *Ālamgīr-nāmah* (*Bibl Ind Text* 830) the name of that place is spelt پېچ and not پېج Indeed Mr Whitehead has provisionally recognized this پېچ as a silver mint of Aurangzeb's in his mint list (p 468) and mentioned as his authority for doing so a specimen existing in Dr Taylor's cabinet I say that he has recognised it provisionally because it is one of the class of 'Mints unverified or not quite certain but included' (p 429) The question that arises is if the name of Punch in Kashmir is clearly written *with the*, on Aurangzeb's rupee how can the پېچ of Jahangir's coin be identified with it? It may be answered that there are several cases of the name of the same place being spelt differently on Mughal coins of different reigns and sometimes even of the same reign The closest parallel is of course that of حنس پور and حنس احسن (P M C Nos 162 163 575) Other examples of such diversity are seen in سرهند بهکر and نکر الہ اسامی and لہ ناد انانوی and سرہند A still more satisfactory reply to this argument is that Abul Fazl's spelling پېج (*Ālbarnāmah* *Bibl Ind Text* II 102 l 13) It seems to me that the probabilities in favour of either of these identifications are considerable and almost equally balanced and that it would be hazardous to assign the coin definitely to either Personally I am strongly inclined to think that the true reading is still to seek and I have written these lines only in the hope that they may help towards a satisfactory identification if the present reading is proved to be correct

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tion of the question might not prove unfruitful, and with this object I studied in the original Persian every word of Nizamu d din in his long account of the first thirty eight years of Akbar's reign and the second and third volumes of Badami's *Muntakhab ul Tawārīkh* which are devoted to the same subject. The results of these studies I beg to be permitted to lay before the readers of this journal as they have a bearing not merely on the question of Mughal Revenues in which both Thomas and Lane Poole were primarily interested but on a point of some importance in Mughal Numismatics, namely the date of the first issue of the heavy and still by no means common *Tanlā-i-Akbarshāhi* of which but one specimen appears to have been known to Thomas when he wrote in 1871 (Chronicles p. 369 note).

In the first place then I find that neither Nizamu d din nor Badami makes use of the word *dam*. Lowe has on p. 284 of his translation the phrase 'Several krors of *dam*s' but a reference to the original (*Bibl. Ind. Text II* p. 276) shows that the word *dam* is there conspicuous by its absence. Both these writers uniformly employ the word *tanka* on every occasion. That word, without any qualifying epithet occurs in Nizamu d din in the following passages —

The passages in Badaoni are nine in number, five relating to events mentioned in the Tabaqat also

- I Sixty thousand *tankās* paid to Hasham Qandahari for a Ghazal by Bairam Khān 966 A H Bibliotheca Indica Text II 41 Lowe II 36
- II One lakh of *tankās* paid to Ramdas Kalawant by Bairam Khan for his music 966 A H Bibl Ind Text II 42 Lowe II 37
- III One lakh of *tankās* given to Hijaz Khān Badaoni for a Qasidah by Bairam Khan 966 A H Bibl Ind Text II 42 Lowe II 37
- IV Tabaqat passage No 1 (Luck Lath 257 E D V 276) Bibl Ind Text II 52 Lowe II 49 966 A H
- V Tabaqat passage No III (Luck Lath 288) 977 A H Bibl Ind Text II 120 Lowe II 124
- VI Tabaqat passage No VII (Luck Lath 323 E D 384) Bibl Ind Text II 186 (صد و بیست و نیکه سده) Lowe II 189
- VII Tabaqat passage No VI (Luck Lath 323 E D V 383) Bibl Ind Text II 189 Lowe II 192
- VIII Qazı Jalal Mullanı banished for forging a draught on the Treasury for five lakhs of *tankās* R Y XXVII Bibl Ind Text II p 313 Lowe II 323
- IX Tabaqat passage No IX (Luck Lath p 366) Bibl Ind Text II, p 341 Lowe II, p 352

In the third volume, the word *Tankas* occurs on pp 16, 20 and 85, but the passages are not of any particular importance

The phrase *Tanka with the qualifying epithet Murādı* expressly added occurs for the first time in Nizamud dın's account of the events of the twenty fifth Regnal year, in which Hakim 'Alı was sent to Bijagarh (Bijapūr) along with the envoys of 'Adıl Khan Dakhamı

چون حواحه عدد الله از حبيب علو حان [عادلحان] آمده بعلحان
گرمی و دمان نامی آورده بود در این نام پرتو القاب بحال عادلحان انداخته
حواحه عدد الله با سرش شاهی نیک نام بعلت ناساهاغه بوارش فرموده بکصد
اسرفی اکثر ساهی و دگر بار و بایصد روپیه و نه بسب و چهار هزار نیکه مرادی
لغام فرموده رخصت دادند *

Lucknow Lithograph, p 342 ll 13 16 Mullā Firuz Library
Manuscript folio 340 A, ll 12-15

* As Khawajah Abdullah had arrived with valuable gifts and elephants of renown from 'Alı Khan ['Adıl Khan] he [the Emperor] threw the glances of condescension upon 'Adıl Khan,

and having bestowed princely *Khilats* (dresses of honour) upon Khwajah 'Abdullah and his son named Shah Beg, presented to them one hundred Akbarshahi ashrakis and fifteen hundred rupees and twenty four thousand *Murādi tankās*, and gave them permission to return to their country

Here Dowson has "1001 Rupees and 24 tankas," and leaves out the word *Murādi* in his translation (E D V, p 411) though it is clearly written in the Lucknow Lithograph as well as in the Mulla Firūz Library Manuscript

Badaoni does not mention Khwajah Abdullah or his son by name or the presents made to them, though he does say that Hakim Ali was sent in company with the Dakhni envoys to Bijagarh (Bijāpur)

The next passage occurs in Nizamuddin's annals of the thirty second Regnal year

و محمد بن سرف ایلچی عدد الله خان و نظری و وردان شریف
ملارمب و کوش رسید و اسماعیل علی خان و راستنگه در در این روزگار
کلانتران و سوداران بلوچان را آورده بخدمت نوی معمر شدند و چهار لک تانکای

ده پانصد تومان عراقی باشد نظری و وردان انعام شد *

Lucknow Lithograph p 370 ll 3 5 Mulla Firuz Library
Manuscript, folio 366 A, ll 14 17

'About the same time when the sun was in his exaltation the envoy of Abdullah Khan and Nazar Bey, together with his sons had the honour of paying their respects [to the Emperor] and performing the *kurnish*. And Isma'il Quli Khan and Raisingh also brought the elders and chiefs of the Balūch tribes who had the honour of kissing the threshold. To Nazar Bey and his sons were given as a present four lacs of *Murādi tankās*, which are equivalent to five hundred Tumans of 'Iraq'

Here Dowson has again omitted the qualifying epithet *Murādi* in his version (E D V p 453)

The corresponding passage in Badaoni is as follows —

و هم در روز دخول ایلچی عدد الله خان و نظری با وردان ملارمب
شدند و چهار لک تانکای نظری که پانصد تومان عراقی باشد انعام شد *

Bibl Ind Text, II, p 352 ll 15-17 Lucknow Lithograph,
p 257 ll 18 19

'On the day of the sun's passing into [the first degree of Aries], the envoy of Abdullah Khan and Nazar Bey with his sons paid their respects, and four lacs of *tankās* which are equivalent to five hundred Tumans of 'Iraq' were given as a present to Nazar Bey' (Cf Lowe, II 363)

Now it will be noticed that the word *Murāḍi* is omitted in the text of Badaoni, just as the word *Tankā* is omitted in the Lucknow Lithograph of Nizamu d-din. But there can be no doubt that both writers meant the same kind of *tankā* for the numbers. *Four lākhs* and *five hundred* are repeated in both. Leaving for the present the discussion of the equation, *Four lakhs of Murāḍi tankās* = *five hundred Tumāns* of Irāq, I will proceed to quote another passage in which the *Murāḍi tankā* is again explicitly mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt*. Speaking of the visit of Mirza Rustam in the thirty eighth Regnal year, Nizamu d-din says —

چون شرف ملازمت رسد انواع الطای اشغای و عقوبت با شایسته نظر
آورده یک کزور بنگه مرادی انعام فرمودند و در ملک امرای پهنه‌رانی انعام
دادند ملانرا بجاگر مرا لطف فرمودند *

Lucknow Lithograph p 379 ll 16-18 Mulla Firūz Library
Manuscript, folio 379 a, ll 7 10

"When he had the honour of paying his respects, the Emperor showed him a variety of kindnesses and favours and princely condescensions, and presented him with a *kror* of *Murāḍi tankās* and gave him a place among the Amirs who were Commanders of Five Thousand and bestowed Multan upon him as his Jagir."

Here again Badaoni repeats the important epithet *Murāḍi*, which is omitted in the version of Dowson (E D v, 467) leaving no doubt that it must have existed in the copy of the *Ṭabaqāt* which Badaoni had before his eyes while compiling his own account. Badaoni's own words are as follows —

و بعد از ملازمت مدایع یک کزور بنگه مرادی بعد انعام بخشیده در ملک
امرای پهنه‌رانی داخل ساختند بجاگر او ملان نامرد گردانیدند *

Bibl Ind Text, II, 388, ll 20-22 Lucknow Lithograph 271,
ll 6-7

After he had paid his respects [the Emperor] made him a present of the sum of *one kror Murāḍi tankās in cash*, and gave him admission to the rank of those Amirs who were Commanders of Five Thousand and appointed Multan as his Jagir."

In this passage, Lowe has rendered the word *Murāḍi*, which stands out clearly in the text which he took as the basis of his translation, by '*in small change*' (II, 402)

I have noted another passage which occurs only in Badaoni and relates to his personal experiences. He informs us that he had been commanded to translate into Persian a collection

of Hindu Tales entitled by him *Bahar al Asmār*—"Ocean of Stories"—[*Kathā Sarit Sāgara*?] and that when he laid his version at the feet of his Imperial patron, Akbar was highly pleased, and ordered him to correct and modernise an older rendering of the first part also which had been made in the time of Sultan Zain al Ābidin of Kashmir

وسروع در آن کرم و بعد از ألعاب بسیار ده هزار مدکه مرادی اعلام و

اسپ اششدد *

Bibl Ind Text II 402 ll 5-6 Lucknow Lithograph 276
ll 1 2

I began it and after [giving me] many marks of favour he gave me a present of ten thousand *Murādī tankās* and a horse

Here again Lowe has rendered the word *Murādī* by 'in small change' (II 416)

Let me now sum up the results of this inquiry. Not reckoning the passage cited by Thomas *which was hitherto the only one known* there are at least *three* other passages in each of these authors in which the *Murādī tanka* is explicitly mentioned. Two of these passages are found in both Nizamud din and Badaoni and relate to the 32nd and the 38th Regnal years. But each has one passage to which there is no parallel in the other. That which is earliest in point of time occurs only in the *Tabaqat* (R Y XXV). That which is latest in point of time is found only in the *Muntalhab* (R Y XL) of Badaoni.

We may take it then that these passages indicate that a *tankā* which bore for some reason the peculiar designation of *Tankā Murādī* was current in Akbar's reign from the twenty-fifth to the fortieth year. It does not appear to have been merely a money of account for Badaoni explicitly uses the words 'One crore *Murādī tankas* (*Vaqd*) : c in cash' and says that he himself received ten thousand of them from the hands of the Emperor. Here it may be useful to quote the note of Lowe's on the expression which he has rendered by the phrase 'in small change'. 'It was the custom to keep bags of 1000 dams at hand ready for distribution' (II 402 n 8) and he quotes as his authority Thomas's *Chronicles* p 421 n 1 where we read 'Abul Fazl relates that a kror of dams was kept ready for gifts within the palace every thousand of which was kept in bags'. Bernier mentions the continuation even to Aurangzeb's time of the same custom of having bags of 1000 dams ready for distribution (*Chronicles* p 421 n 2).

The language of Nizamud din also scarcely supports if it does not actually militate against the supposition that the *Murādī tanka* was merely a money of account. He tells us that

Nazar Bey actually received 24 000 of these *Murāḍī tankās*, along with 100 ashrafis and 1,500 rupees, neither of which last could possibly come under that description. It is more likely that the Emperor, for some reason connected with the court etiquette relating to the entertainment of envoys and other visitors from foreign parts, furnished him with a reasonable quantity of the currency of the realm, in all the three metals.¹ The total amount of the gift would be about 3,700 rupees taking the ashrafi at 10 rupees, and the *Murāḍī tankā* at $\frac{1}{10}$ of a rupee. If the object had been merely to give the ambassador a certain sum as *douceur*, or if the *Murāḍī tankā* had been merely an accountant's fiction, he would have given him only 370 ashrafis, or only 3,700 rupees. It seems that a few of those bags filled with coppers, which "were kept ready for distribution," were included in the Imperial gift with the object of obviating any difficulties which the stranger might possibly experience in the exchange transactions incidental to everyday existence, which appear to have been conducted for the most part in copper in those times. It is perhaps permissible also to conjecture that these *Murāḍī tankās* were specially included on this occasion because they had been then but recently coined and placed in circulation.

But supposing the *Murāḍī tankā* was a money of account only, what was its value? For this we have the equation—Four lakhs of *Tankā* : *Murāḍī* = five hundred *Tumāns* of *Irāq*. But what was the value of the *Tumān* of *Irāq*? Abul Fāzī is explicit on that point—"The *Tuman* of *Khurasan*," he says "is equal in value to 30 rupees and the *Tumān* of *Irāq* to 40" (*Ain-i Akbari*, Tr Jarrett II, 394). But if 40 rupees are equal to one *Tumān* of *Irāq* and if four lakhs of *Murāḍī tankās* are equal to five hundred *Tumāns* of *Irāq*, it follows that

¹ It appears to have been the practice to present to ambassadors and distinguished visitors from foreign parts on the arrival or departure, or both, various sums of money for, as it is often expressly said, their expenses. Thus Jahangir gave the envoy of the Sharif of Mekka five lacs of *Dēmas* in the second year of his reign (*Tā'ūl*, Tr Rogers and Beveridge I 133). In the tenth year he bestowed twenty thousand *Darbs* (half rupees) on Mustafa Beg the Persian ambassador (*Ibid* I 234). Muhammad Rīzā another envoy of the ruler of Iran received in the twelfth year sixty thousand *Darbs* (*Ib* I 34). The *Wakils* of Adil Khān of Bijapur and Qutb-ul Mulk of Gulkandah also are stated to have received donations of one lac and of sixty thousand *Darbs* respectively soon afterwards in the same year (*Ibid* I 433 and 439). Several other examples of the same practice occur elsewhere in the same work (*L* 206 296 II 36 75 90, 94 97 165 236). It would be easy to quote additional passages from the *Bādshah-namah* and the histories of Aurangzeb, but it is scarcely necessary to do so. A study of all the passages seems to show that whereas Akbar's presents were generally made in these *Tankā*-*Murāḍī*, Jahangir preferred to give *Darbs* and Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb Rupees.

800 *Murādī tankās* = one Tuman of 'Iraq = 40 Rupees (Akbari), and that

20 *Murādī tankās* = one rupee (Akbari).

In other words, 1 *Murādī tankā* = 2 *dāms*, taking the dam at $\frac{1}{20}$ of the Akbari rupee. Of course, all this depends upon the correctness of Abul Fazl's equation—1 *Tumān* of 'Irāq = 40 Rupees, and it is possible to argue that Nizāmud dīn's *Tumān* of 'Irāq may not have been at all identical with that of Abul Fazl, and may have been worth less or more. Fortunately, however, it is possible to show decisively that it was worth neither more or less than 40 rupees. Nizāmud dīn himself gives the identical equation in an indirect manner, in not one but two passages, which I shall content myself with quoting from Dowson's translation.

"The debts of Shaikh Mohammed Bukhari, who was killed at the battle of Pattan, and of Saif Khan Koka, who fell in the second campaign of Ahmadabad, were ordered to be paid out of the public treasury. The total amounted to *one lac of Akbar shāhi rupees equal to two thousand five hundred Tumāns of 'Iraq'* (E D V 370-1). It is obvious from this that 40 *Akbarshāhi rupees* = 1 *Tumān of 'Irāq'*. Elsewhere he says

"*Nearly a lac and a half of rupees, equal to three thousand seven hundred Tumāns of 'Iraq, goods of Hindustan and curiosities, were entrusted to Muhammad 'Alī Khazanchi for presentation to 'Abdullāh Khān'*" (E D V 455).

Now, 3,700 *Tumāns* of 'Irāq at 40 rupees to the Tuman would be equal to only 148,000 rupees and it is thus easy to see why the scrupulously exact quarter master general and accountant qualifies the expression, "a lac and a half of rupees" with the adverb "*nearly*" (*Qarīb i yak-nim lak rupiyah*). Lucknow Lithograph p 371, 19¹.

¹ It is perhaps not unnecessary to add that we have nothing to do here with the various estimates of the value of the *Tumān* in European money which are to be found in the works of English, French and Italian travellers of the seventeenth century. What we are concerned with is not what any one of them understood by the word but what the author of the *Tabaqāt* believed the *Tuman* of *Iraq* to be valued at. Nizāmud dīn's own declaration on that head must therefore be *absolutely decisive* even if we did not possess the exceedingly valuable corroborative testimony of his contemporary Abul Fazl. The *Tuman* appears to have been at this time merely a money of account and to have varied also from place to place (Qandahar, Khurasan, Irāq, etc.). It seems also like several other denominations of money, to have run an almost uninterrupted course of depreciation with the lapse of time. Pietro della Valle's (1619 A.C.) estimate makes it equivalent to £4 10s (*Travels*, II 22). Manjelsio says it was equal to 5 Pistoles i.e. about £4 3s 6d. Tavernier in his *Persian Travels* (ed. 1676 p 122) takes it to be = 15 écus which at 4s 6d the écu = £3 7s 6d. Elsewhere he declares it was equal to 10 Abissins i.e. about £3 10s (Ball's edition I 24). Sir Thomas Herbert says the *Toman* is five marks sterling (*Travels* p 220) which at 13s 4d. the mark would be = £3 6s 8d. Fryer (1677 A.C.) estimates every Tho

So far then it appears that the passage quoted at the head of this paper is not as has been hitherto supposed the only reference to the *Murādī tankā* in Indian Historical Literature and that a copper coin or *anka* of which the value was equal to the double dam is referred to at least six times by Badaoni and Vizamu'd-din. But it is not only in these two historians that this *tankā* finds mention. I have traced an explicit allusion to it in the *Murādī Shikardarī* a history of the Gujarat Sultans finished about 1611 A.C.—about six years only after Akbar's death—by Shikandar bin Manjhu who appears to have himself entered the Imperial service after the conquest of the province by Akbar's arms. This writer appears to have been perfectly familiar with this denomination of currency for in the course of his account of an invasion of the territories of the Rana Kumbha of Chitor by Qutb-ud-din Ahmad Shah II of Gujarat in 961 A.H. he remarks:—It is said that the battle lasted for five days and that a cup of water was sold for five *phadiyahs* equivalent in that neighbourhood to twelve *Murādī tankas*. (Bayley *History of Gujarat* p. 101. See also Fyzal Lutfullah's Translation p. 30.)

It is evident that the *Phadiyah* had become obsolete in the writer's day and so to bring home to his readers the extraordinary scarcity of water in that arid region he has taken care to give the equivalent of the *Phadiyah* in a denomination of money familiar to his contemporaries. Unfortunately the explanation conveys to us but little illumination and a cloud hangs over the *Murādī tankā* which is if possible thicker and darker than that which surrounds the *Phadiyah* or *Fedea* of which Yule and Burnell say:

Fedea *Fuddea*. A denomination of money formerly current in Bombay and the adjoining coast. *Mahr[attī] phadiyah* (qu. Ar *Fidya* ransom!) It constantly occurs in the account statements of the 16th century e.g. of Nunez (1594) as a mone of account of which 4 went to the silver *tanga* [see TANC 20 to the Pardao]. * * * Prof. Robertson Smith suggests that this may be the Ar[ab] denomination of a small coin used in Egypt *fadda* (i.e. silverling). * * * But according to Lane the name was originally given to half-dirhems coined early in the fifteenth century and these would be worth about 3 d. The *fedea* of 1594 would be about 4½ d. This rather indicates the identity of the names. (Hobson-Jobson ed. Crooke &c. *Fedea*.)

Now taking Nunez's value for the *Phadiyah* or rather Yule's estimate of it and regarding the rupee of Akbar (*fufi*)

mand at three pounds and a noble. e. 13. s. 2. Tra. 12 p. 2.
According to Hardy's Universal Camb. it represented a value of 100
fl. 16s. in 1511 A.C. and at the present day it would be worth 100
s. 10d. Fide Yule and Burnell *Hobson-Jobson*. * * * T. 1000 s. 11 d.
T. 1000 s. 11 d. from which it is derived.

weight), as equivalent to 2s 6d. (Lane Poole's *Aurangzib*, p 120, and the authorities quoted there), we have .—

$$12 \text{ Murādi Tankās} = 5 \text{ Fadiyāhs} = d. 4\frac{1}{4} \times 5 = \frac{1}{4} \times 5d. = \frac{5}{4} d.$$

$$= \frac{5}{4} \times \frac{1}{30} \text{ Rs.} = \frac{5}{120} \text{ Rs} = \frac{1}{24} \text{ Rs.} = \frac{1}{24} \times \frac{40}{1} \text{ Dāms}$$

$$= \frac{5}{6} \text{ Dāms} = 28\frac{1}{3} \text{ Dāms}$$

$$1 \text{ Murādi Tankā} = \frac{5}{6} \text{ Dāms} \times \frac{1}{12} \text{ Dāms} = \frac{5}{72} \text{ Dāms}$$

$$= 2\frac{1}{6} \text{ Dāms.}$$

The result will be even closer if we take the *Phadiyāh* to be equal to 4d instead of 4½d. It will be then 2½ Dāms

But there is yet another gauge that is available. About twenty years ago, I discovered in the possession of an old Parsi priest of Navsāri, near Surat, a bundle of original Persian and Gujarātī documents, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, illustrating the history of our small community. One of these is a Persian sale deed of 923 A H (1517 A C.), by which thirty two bighās of land were sold to a famous Parsi of those times, Mānak Chāngā, by Musammāt 'Ismat Khatūn for the sum of the five hundred *Phadiyas*, each *Phadiyāh* of which was to be of the value of 12 *Dokdās*. Now, the *Dokdā* of Gujarat is almost everywhere defined as the $\frac{1}{100}$ part of a rupee (Wilson's *Glossary*, s v *Belsāre*, *Gujarātī-English Dictionary*, s v) and is most probably, what the author of the *Mirāt-i Ahmadi* calls the *tankchāh* of Gujarāt, of which also 100 went to the rupee (Bayley, *Gujarātī*, p 6). Now, if a *Phadiyā* was equivalent to 12 of these *Dokdās* and if 5 *Phadiyāhs* were equal to 12 *Murādi tankās*, it is obvious that $12 \text{ Murādi tankās} = 60 \text{ Dokdās} = \frac{6}{100}$ of a rupee $= \frac{3}{50} \times \frac{40}{1} \text{ Dāms} = 24 \text{ Dāms}$

$$1 \text{ Murādi tankā} = 2 \text{ Dāms}$$

This extraordinary confirmation of the value given for the *Murādi tankā* by Nizāmu d-dīn from a chance document found in a Pārsī house in an obscure corner of Gujarat, is, to say the least of it, extraordinary, and deserves careful consideration at the hands of any one disposed to scout the theory enunciated by Thomas.

But this does not exhaust the evidence. It is possible to demonstrate the existence of a *tankā* equivalent to two *Dāms*, and to adduce at least two conclusive examples of the equation from the *Am-i Akbarī* itself. In a chapter on the "Profit of the Dealers in Gold and Silver," which deserves to be carefully studied by every advanced student of Mughal Numismatics, Abul-Fazl says

"The merchant buys for 100 *Lāl-i Jalāl* Muhrs 130 *T[olaks]* 2 *M[āshās]* 0½ *S[urkhs]* of Hūn gold of 8½ *bāns*. Of this quan-

¹ The Mughal phrase for gold of absolute fineness—2½ carats or 100 touch—was *Bārahbāni*—i.e. of twelve *Bāns*. Abul Fazl writes

"The highest degree of purity is called in Persia *Dahdah* (i.e. ten in

tity, 22t 9m 7½s burn away in melting, and mix with the *Khāk-i-khalāq*, so that 107t 4m 1½s of pure gold remain which are coined into 105 muhrs, leaving a remainder of nearly half a *tolāh* of gold, the value of which is 4 rupees. From the *Khāk-i-khalāq*, are recovered 2t 11m 4s of gold and 11t 11m 4½s of silver, the value of both of which is 35 rupees, 12½ *tangāhs*, so that altogether, the above-mentioned quantity of gold yields 105 Muhrs, 39 Rs. and 25 dams (*Āin-i-Akbari*, Tr. Blochmann, I, 37)

It is easy to see that this total of 39 rupees, 25 Dāms is made up by adding the 4 rupees which are stated to be the market-price of the residuary half *tolāh* of gold and the 35 Rs 12½ *Tangāhs* which represent the aggregate money value of the gold and silver bullion recovered from the *Khāk-i-khalāq*. In other words

$$\begin{aligned} & (4 \text{ Rs}) + (35 \text{ Rs} + 12\frac{1}{2} \text{ Tangāhs}) \\ &= 39 \text{ Rs} + 25 \text{ Dāms, } + e \text{ } 12\frac{1}{2} \text{ Tangāhs} = 25 \text{ Dāms} \\ & \quad . \text{ } 1 \text{ Tangāh} = 2 \text{ Dāms} \end{aligned}$$

Then again in Abul Fazl's account of the Subah of Berar, we read

"This Subah contains 16 *Sarkārs* and 142 *Perganahs*. From an early period, the revenues were taken by a valuation of crops and since the *Tankāh* of this country is equal to 8 of Dehli, the gross revenue was 3½ krons of *Tankāhs* or 56 krons of *Dāms*."

Āin-i-Akbari, Tr. Jarrett, II. 231

Now if 3½ krons of Berār *tankās* = 56 krons of *dāms*,

$$1 \text{ Berār } \textit{tankā} = 16 \text{ dāms}$$

And we are also told that

$$1 \text{ Berār } \textit{tankā} = 8 \text{ tankās of Dehli}$$

But we have seen that

$$1 \text{ Berār } \textit{tankā} = 16 \text{ dāms}$$

$$8 \text{ Tankās of Dehli} = 16 \text{ dāms}$$

$$1 \text{ Tankā of Dehli} = 2 \text{ dāms}$$

All the above passages are from contemporary writers. Nizāmud-din Ahmad, Badāoni, and the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandar* all speak of a *tankā* called *Murādī* which was clearly equal to the one-twentieth part of a rupee or two dams. Abul Fazl also twice speaks of a *tangāh* or a '*tankāh of Dehli*' which was equal to two dāms. Let me now quote two referen-

ten) but they do not know above ten degrees of fineness whilst in India it is called *Barahbānt*, as they have twelve degrees. Formerly the old *Hun* which is a gold coin current in the Deccan was thought to be pure and reckoned at ten degrees, but His Majesty has now fixed it at 8½, and the round small gold *Dinār* of 'Alāuddin which was considered to be 12 degrees now turns out to be 10½ (*Āin-i-Akbari* Tr. Blochmann, I, p. 14)

ces to this *Tankā* : *Murādī* which occur in later but by no means contemptible, authorities. One of them occurs in the *Mīrāt-i Ahmādī*, the other in the *Ma āsir ul-Umarā*. The first shows that the phrase *Murādī Tankā* was used in official documents and supposed to require no explanation so late at least as the time of Aurangzeb while the second proves that the author of the *Ma āsir* was not unacquainted with the equation of which we have already had so many illustrations.

1 (*Murādī*) *Tankāh* = $\frac{1}{10}$ of an Akbarī rupee i.e. 2 dāms

Let me first quote the *Mīrāt-i Ahmādī* —

و در سال هزار و نود و چهار بموجب التماس ناظم صوبه دکن محبوسان و فوجیان جمعی از مسلمانان و رده عینی نداسند ناسند حکم [شد] که فی نفر ۱ محبوسان چدنوئی کوتوالی یک انار آرد گندم و برای قوی فی نفر دو چادر و پنج نعلک مرایی از حوائج دین المال ممداده ناسند *

Mīrāt-i Ahmādī, Bombay Lithograph 1307 A H Part I
p 322 ll 5 8

And in the year one thousand and ninety four [A H] it was ordered in accordance with the request submitted [respectfully made] by the Administrator (ناظم) of the Subah (or Province of Gujarat) on behalf of those prisoners and deceased persons who belonged to the Musalman community and had no well to do relatives (*i.e.* heirs) that every such prisoner [kept] in the guard house of the Kotwal should have per head one seer of wheat flour and every individual defunct should have two sheets (or shrouds) and five *Murādī tankas* given [for burial expenses] from the Public Treasury.

This author, it will be seen clearly mentions the *Murādī tankā*. We may think it unfortunate that he has not cared to explain what a *Murādī tankā* was equal to in his day but the omission is probably due to the fact that the phrase was so well understood when he wrote as to require no gloss or commentary. It is clear however from the passage I have quoted in the Note on the Weight of Aurangzeb's Dāms from an other part of his work (Part I p 282 ll 10 11) that the *Tankā* was valued in Gujrat at two *Falus*, i.e. *Dāms* before 1077 A H.

My second quotation is from the *Ma āsir ul-Umarā* a very valuable Biographical Dictionary of the celebrated persons who flourished in this country under the House of Timur. In the Life of Qasim Khan *Mīr-i Bahr* under whose supervision the great Fort of Agra was completed in 972 A H (1564 5 A C) the writer says

و قلعه ريف اساسي آگره كه در صلابت و عذاب عدل و نظيرت - حان
 ربع صكش نشان نداده بود بحسب امدام فاسم حان در عرس هفت سال
 بصري هفت كور نكده كه مي و پنج لك روزه فاشد صورت ادم و نقش
 احكام گرفته .

Maāsir ul-Umarā, Bibl Indica Text, Vol III, p 63, ll 6-10

' And the elevated Fortress of Āgra, the like and equal of which in strength and solidity has not been described (it pointed out) by those who have travelled in the quarters of the inhabited [world] was completed and received the finishing touch in the space of eight years, at a cost of seven crores of *tanlā* which are equivalent to thirty five lakhs of rupees [thanks] to the excellence of Qasim Khān's management '

It is scarcely necessary to say that if

Seven crores of *tanlās* = thirty five lakhs of rupees

30 *Tanlās* = one rupee,

1 *Tanlā* = $\frac{1}{30}$ of a rupee or 2 *dāms*

One more documentary proof of the value borne by the Tanka has been recently discovered in distant Kashmir, which shows that the Tanka equal to the twentieth part of a Rupee was in general use, and that the name also was familiar to the people so late as 1093 A H (1682 A C) In a manuscript of a portion of the Mahabharata, purchased by Dr M A Stein at Srinagar in October 1898, ' a curious deed of sale ' is endorsed on the obverse leaf of the ' Ashvamedha Parvan ' The agreement is written out in Sanscrit as well as in Persian and it is recorded in the former that the MS was sold to the worshipful Guru Ananda for *forty five thousand Dinnāras* It is stated with equal clearness in the latter, that the sale took place on the 1st of Ramazan 1093 A H, and that the price was two hundred and twenty five *Tankās*

Now Dr Stein has proved that " the Kashmirian *Hath Sans Sata*, i.e. the hundreder (the hundred-dinnara piece), was, in Akbar's time, as clearly shown by a statement of Abul Fazl only equal to $\frac{1}{20}$ of a Rupee The *Sasun* or thousander, the old *Sahasra*, accordingly, then represented a value of not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Rupee " The forty five thousand Dinnaras of the document would, at this rate, have been equal to $11\frac{1}{4}$ Rupees So far every thing was clear to Dr Stein (J R A S April 1900 pp 187 194, and Numismatic Chronicle, 1899 Vol XIX, pp 120 174), but he was unable to say, " what particular coin " was meant by the 'Tanka,' though he thought that " a copper coin was evidently intended " It is perhaps scarcely necessary to say that the coin was the *Tanlā* which is the subject of this article, i.e. the *Tankā* = $\frac{1}{30}$ of a Rupee It is clear that if

$$\begin{aligned}
 225 \text{ Tankās} &= 45,000 \text{ Dināras,} \\
 &= 11\frac{1}{2} \text{ Rupees,} \\
 1 \text{ Tankā} &= 200 \text{ Dināras} \\
 \text{But } 100 \text{ Dināras} &= \frac{1}{5} \text{ Rupee,} \\
 \therefore 1 \text{ Tankā} &= \frac{1}{5} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{10} \text{ Rupee}
 \end{aligned}$$

So far we are on solid ground. All the passages quoted are clear enough and there is not room for much difference of opinion as to their meaning. But there are several other points in this connection which are not easy of solution and to these I must now advert.

We have seen that Abul Fazl calls this full tankā (equal to two Dams or the $\frac{1}{10}$ th part of a rupee) the "*Tankā : Dehli*." Nizamuddin and Badaoni give it the designation of "*Tankā : Murādī*." I confess that I cannot give any particular reason for either appellation. Why call it the "*Tankā* of Dehli" only and not of Agra, Lahore, or any other place where it was current? And for the matter of that, why call it '*Murādī*'? I am afraid it is scarcely possible to say anything really useful on that head, and we are left to mere conjecture. It is possible that the epithet had something to do with the name of the Prince Murad and that the full tankā came, at some time in its history, to be called after Akbar's favourite son. It is of course open to any one to hold that it is nothing more than one of those meaningless expletives or 'coefficients' as they have been called, of which there are so many in Persian and Hindustani idiom, e.g. *Panj* (five) *Zanjir* : *fil Qabzah* : *Shamshur*, *Dānah* : *Marwārid*, *Muhārī* *Shutur*, *Qata'a* : *La'al*, *Nafar* : *Barqandāz*, *Fard* : *Kāghaz* or *Dast* : *Bāz*. These and many another "gem of the Munshi's repertory" may be seen in Carnegie's *Kachari Technicalities*, or in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson Jobson* (s.v. Numerical Affixes, ed. Crooke, p. 614). But neither of these suppositions is supported by any positive evidence, and our knowledge of the many fanciful and often far-fetched innovations in nomenclature for which Akbar appears to have had an unreasoning partiality, should warn us against making any confident statement on that head. Indeed, it seems to me that the origin of the phrase is a mere side issue upon which it is scarcely necessary to lay stress in the present state of the inquiry. Etymological inquiries are of practical value only when there is a doubt as to the real meaning of a word or phrase. They are scarcely anything more than curiosities when the meaning stands out clearly, as it does in this case, from the words of the writers themselves. It is possible that scholars will long continue to differ about the derivation of the word *Murādī*, but then how many of us are agreed as to the etymology of *Tankā* itself, or *Dām* or *Paisā* or *Dokdā* or *Kānī* (or *Gānī*)?

I submit, therefore, that our ignorance of the origin of the

epithet ought not to be permitted to obscure the real point at issue. That point is simply this, was there a *tankā* called, for some reason unknown, *Murādi*, and was it equivalent to the twentieth part of a rupee as the *dāni* was equal to the fortieth? That question, I venture to state, *admits now of but one answer*, and that is in the affirmative, and should be enough for our purpose.

resources and munificence? The specimens in our museums of Akbar's *salus* or dams are sufficiently numerous to demonstrate the fallacy of this supposition, but then when Aurangzeb made to the Prince Muhammad Muazzam a present of three crores of dams, are we to understand that several thousand carts loaded with copper coins were sent to the Prince's residence? Most probably not. The amount of the gift was *estimated* in dams, but the dam was an actual coin and not a mere "money of account," in our sense of the term. The entire Mughal revenue was estimated in dams, and all the accounts were kept in dams, but the *dām* was an actual coin and a "money of account" only in the sense that it was the commonest fiscal unit in which all *accounts* were kept. It would appear as if the *Murādī tankā* which we have seen mentioned in connection with the amounts of large money gifts was, just like the *dām*, a real coin as well as a fiscal unit and not a mere "money of account" in our sense of the term.

But supposing that it was a "money of account" and nothing more, it does not at all affect the conclusion so far as the *primary question as to the real meaning of the 'Return' of Nizāmu-d-din Ahmad*, quoted at the head of this article, is concerned. "Money of account" or not, it is clear that 640 crores of *Murādī tankās* were equivalent to 32 crores of Akbari rupees and not to 16 crores, and that *Thomas was after all right in the surmise* which Mr Lane-Poole rejected as scarcely worthy of serious consideration. So far the demonstration is complete. Whether the 32 crores of rupees represent *merely the land revenue* or the *sum total of the Imperial income* from all sources is another matter which may be discussed more fitly in some other place.

One word more as to the strictly numismatic aspect of the question. If the *Murādī tankā* was valued at two Dams, and equivalent to $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a rupee, what is its relation to the *Tankā-i Akbarshāhi*, of about double the weight of the dam, of which several specimens have been unearthed since Thomas wrote? The difficulty is that the earliest dated tanka is not older than the 44th Regnal year (Whitehead, P M C No 615), though *half tankās* of the 40th, 41st, 42nd years have been found. Nizāmu d din first mentions the large tankā, equivalent to the twentieth part of a rupee, in connection with the 25th Regnal year, while Badaoni's earliest reference is to the 32nd, and even Abul Fazl's is probably not later than the 40th year of the Reign. Indeed, Nizāmu d din died in the 38th year, and Badaoni, whose history does not go beyond the 40th, is generally believed to have died soon afterwards. Abul Fazl, it is true, lived up to the 46th year, but the facts and figures in the *Āin* are in more than one instance said expressly to refer to the 39th or the 40th year.

We are therefore led to suppose that the full *tankā* of about

610 grs must have been first coined much earlier than is believed, at present. It would be hazardous, however, to say more in the present state of our ignorance than that Numismatists would do well to be on the look out for specimens of earlier dates.

S H HODIVALĀ

Junagadh

Note—The Akbari *dām* is the legitimate successor of the Sūrī *dām*. Sher Shah Sūrī was the first ruler to strike copper coins of this size and weight. Is it known from the original authorities what these Sūrī coins were designated? We numismatists take it that they were called *dāms*. Halves, quarters and smaller fractions of the Sūrī *dām* are known, but not a single Sūrī double *dām* has been found up to date. Mr H Nelson Wright, ICS has a heavy *dām* of Islam Shah Sūrī (see Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society Bengal XXV, p 236) but it is not really a double *dām*. Its weight (460 grains) makes it equivalent to about a *dām* and a half. As Akbar continued the monetary system inaugurated by that very capable administrator Sher Shah Sūrī, numismatists call his ordinary copper issues *dāms*. As far as we know from the actual coins so far discovered the word *tankā* did not come into use on the coinage till the fortieth year and all *tankās* are dated in the *ilāhi* or Akbar's divine era. Ordinarily the half *tankā*, corresponding in weight and size with the *dām*, is found. But we also get the *chahāram hissa* *hashtaham hissa* and *shāna-daham hissa*. The *tankā* itself or full *tankā* as it is often called to distinguish it from the half *tankā* which is sometimes loosely designated *tanka*, is very rare—see NS XXV, p 235. To return to the *dām* for a moment. The actual word is only found on one very rare issue from the Srinagar mint—see my new Punjab Museum Catalogue Vol II pp xcvi and 95. This piece in dam shows that the *dām* and the half *tankā* were identical in weight and size.

Mr Stanley Lane Poole is clearly in error when he says the terms *dām* and *tankā* are interchangeable. The coins themselves show that the *dām* was equivalent to the half *tankā*. As regards his dictum that there were undoubtedly double *dāms* as well as double *tankās* I think I am right in saying that not a single double *dām* of Akbar has ever been discovered. By the double *tankā* Mr Stanley Lane Poole must have meant the full *tanka*. Such a thing as a two-*tanka* piece weighing as much as 1280 grains is totally unknown. Probably at the time when he wrote the words now under discussion the available coin material was small and he confounded the half *tanka* with the *tankā*. One source of error is due to the fact that on some *tanka* issues e.g. Ahmadabad, Gobindpur the fractional

epithets are left out. The only double *dāms* known to me are the two specimens mentioned on p. 236 of N S XXV, one of Jahangir and the other of Shāh Jahan. Each I think is still unique.

It is curious that the almost invariable use of the word *tankā* by historians—Mr Hodiwala gives instances of the seventh, tenth, fourteenth, regnal years—is not reflected on the coins themselves. Numismatists call by the name of *dāms* all the usual copper issues of Akbar of the appropriate dimensions which bear no denominational epithet, especially those which were struck before the *slāhī* era came into use in Akbar's thirtieth year. They reserve the term *tankā* for those issues on which the epithet occurs and these are unknown to coin collectors till Akbar's fortieth year. This is the date of a half *tankā* of Akbar's mint in the Panjab Museum—Panjab Museum Catalogue, Vol II, No 614. The date of this very coin was read by Mr C J Rodgers as forty five—see Indian Antiquary, July 1890, Rare copper coins of Akbar, Fig 36. I should be grateful if numismatists would communicate to me the dates of early specimens of the *tankā* issue. A numismatist would therefore expect to find the term *dam* used by historians when they refer to transactions which took place in Akbar's earlier years.

Mr Hodiwala shows that Dowson and Lowe in their translations more than once omit the word *murādī* from what is in the original *murādī tankā*. Similarly the word *tankā* is omitted in one original and the word *murādī* in another. So though the full form is *murādī tankā* we also have the abbreviated epithets *murādī* and *tankā*. Unless we are to blame the copyists for incorrect and partial renderings the inference seems to be that the word *murādī* is not indispensable, and that *murādī tankā* and *tankā* mean the same thing. This is the conclusion that Mr Hodiwala finally arrives at from other considerations. I suggest that *murādī* is a redundant word which signifies that the *tankās* were copper money or currency. In support of this view I cite the fact that the word *murādī* is still used, though much more rarely than the usual epithet *muāzī*, to denote amounts of copper money less than one rupee in value. Thus *murādī āth āna chhē pai* can be used for *muāzī āth āna chhē pai*.

The further consideration arises,—Was the *tankā* merely a money of account like our guinea at the present day? Mr Hodiwala deduces from the passages quoted by him that the *tankā* was current from the twenty fifth to the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, and that it was not merely a money of account. The latter contention is supported by the facts that Badaoni mentions one crore of *tankās* in cash, and that this historian says that he himself received ten thousand of them from the hands of the emperor. Also one Nazar Beg actually received twenty four thousand of these *tankās*, along with one hundred *ashrafīs*, and fifteen hundred rupees. This event occurred in

the thirty second year of Akbar's reign But these considerations do not make the same appeal to the numismatist, though of course it is possible that the word *tankā* came into common use before it made its formal appearance on the coinage In the first place, the *tankā* issue does not appear till the fortieth year Mughal coins have been collected for the last century, and not a single specimen of Akbar's copper *tankā* issue is known to me prior to the fortieth year Again, if this *tankā* was struck in such enormous numbers that ten millions of them could be gifted to one individual while twenty four thousand were presented to another person as ordinary coin of the realm, then *tankās* ought to be found in large numbers at the present day This is true of the copper coin equivalent in weight and size to the *dām*, or half *tankā* Every bazar in Northern India is full of *Sūri* and Akbari *dāms* But the full *tankā* is very scarce indeed There is only one full *tankā* in the Indian Museum collection, and there are three in the Cabinet of the Lahore Museum I myself during nine years of assiduous search in the Punjab bazars have found one specimen So we are brought to one of two results The word *tankā* was loosely used in old chronicles for the half *tankā* or *dām* But Mr Hodiwala has conclusively shown that the value of this very *tankā* as described by the historians was one twentieth of a rupee and that it was equivalent to the double *dām* This equation also follows from numismatic considerations So if the historians are referring to the full *tankā*, we are driven to the conclusion that this *tankā* was almost entirely a money of account, and that a few specimens were struck more as curiosities than as a circulating medium¹

R B WHITEHEAD, I.C.S

26-5-16

182 FIRŪZGARH

The obscure mint name Firūzgarh occurs for the first time in the short reign of Bahadur Shah Shāh 'Ālam I Mr Whitehead says that Firūzgarh was the name of a fort in the province of Bidar, west of Haidarabad (P M C, p xci) His authority is not mentioned, but it was evidently Mr Jadunath Sarkar's *India of Aurangzeb* (p xcvi) or rather, the *Chahar Gulshan*, which includes Firozgarh or Ibrahimgarh among the five forts of the province of Bidar, the other four being Bidar itself, Ramgīr Kahan and Muzaffarnagar or Balkh (ib p 164) The *Chahār Gulshan* is not always an unerring guide, but in this case, it may be pronounced correct so far as it goes, because its statement is corroborated by a work of much higher authority This is the *Ma āsir ul-Ūmarā*—a Biographical Diction

¹ The discussion suggests the problem as to whether before the introduction of nickel pieces the anna was a coin or not.—H. N.

ary of the famous names of the entire Mughal period. In its account of Ghāzī ud-dīn (Chin Qulich Khān), Bahadur, Firūz Jang, it says

و بعد از آنکه فاعده انرا بم گده عوف ابرک را که بعد از گده موم شده
حدراً و دهرراً گوت *

Vol II p 875, ll 2-3 (Bibl Ind Text)

'And after [the fall of Bijapur in the 28th Regnal year] he took by main force the fortress of Ibrahimgadh alias Ikar variant, *Inkār* (انکر) which was [thereafter] named Firuzgadh.'

The same writer informs us in another place that this Ibrahimgadh was in his own time called Āhangadh (*ib* II p 503 ll 17-18 see also II p 746). Then again we learn from the *Ma āsir : Ālamgiri* that this Chin Qulich Khān Bahadur Firūzjang received on the 25th of Zil hijjah 1097 A H, orders from the Emperor to march to the conquest of the fortress of Ibrahimgadh one of the dependencies (مصائب) of Haidarabad (*Bibl Ind Text* p 284 ll 4-5). We are next told by the same writer that Firūzjang had performed the task and returned before the 24th of Rabi' I 1098 (*ib* p 288 ll 8-13). We may take it then that the old name of Firūzgadh actually was Ibrahimgadh. The fall of the fortress which took place before that of the capital of the Qutb Shāhis is mentioned with exultation by the author of the *Ma āsir : Ālamgiri* who declares that it 'strengthened the foundations of the courage of the Ghazis and uprooted the prosperity of the ill-fated enemy' (p 288 ll 12-13). It is therefore easy to understand why it received the punning name which signified that it was an omen of victory (فدوری) and at the same time recalled the title by which the great Captain to whose arms it had succumbed was most familiarly known.

But where was this Ibrahimgadh or Firūzgadh or Āhangadh? It is not easy to say but the local Hindu name Aikar (variant *Ankār* or *Atkār* انکر Atkār?)¹ indicates that it is the Yadgir (انگر) of the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas—which is in the near neighbourhood of the four other forts mentioned in the *Chahār Gulshan*. Bhalki or Muzaffarnagar is about 25 m N W of Bidar (Elliot and Dowson VII p 28 note) and about equi-distant, in a northerly direction from Kalyani and Bidar. The latitudes and longitudes will clearly show this —

¹ Etgeer (انگر) is mentioned frequently as a fortress of some strength in Ferozhta's annals of the Dekkan. Briggs *Rise of the Mahratta Power in India*. Calcutta Reprint III 46 l. 6 325 326 330 see also pp 353 361 375 376

Yadgir	16°46' N	and 77°9' E
Bidar	17°55' N	and 77°32' E
Bhalki	18°3' N	and 77°12' E
Kalyani	.. 17°53' N	and 76°57' E

Yadgir is now in Gulbarga district, Haidarabad state, and possesses a fort built by an old Yadava king. Imperial Gazetteer XXIV, p 400. In the statement of Maratha Revenues appended to Scott Waring's *History of the Marāṭhās*, the Sircar of *Firozgarh* or *Yadger* is the second of the seven Sarcars of the Subah of Moohumudabad or Bidur (pp 249, 251). The other Sircars are Haveli (i.e. Bidur itself), Nanderee, Akulkoto, Kajian, Ramgeeres and Moozufurnugur. The statement is said to have been "made out from Maratta records shortly after the campaign of my Lord Cornwallis," and may be taken to be decisive testimony of the identity of "*Firozgarh*" and "*Yadgir*."

Junagadh

S H HODIVĀLA

183 'A SILVER DIRHAM OF BASTHAM'

May I be permitted to make a few additions and corrections in the descriptions of the silver coin of Bistam, and the history of this rebel published in the Numismatic Supplement No XXVI, article No 154, under the heading of "A Silver Dirham of Bastham (Vastham) Sassanian Ruler in Khorasan in Persia" by Mr Thanawalla.

The silver coins of the Sassanians and those issued by the Arab governors of Persia after the Sassanian type can only be described correctly by the name of drachme, while those of the Arabs bearing a Kufic legend are properly called dirhams.

Bistam did not belong to the house of Sasan and therefore he cannot strictly be styled a Sassanian.

The true name of Kobad II (20th February 629 to September 629) is Shērōō (diminutive of Shēr, 'lion'), Σιρως Σιρως and Σηρως among the Byzantines. Syriac Sherōf and Armenian Sherof (Noeldeke, Tabari, p 361, and Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, p 297). Masudi speaks of him as Qobād Shīrūyah el ghaḥūm. On mounting the throne he took the name of Kobad which we find on his coins with the epithet *šrōh* as *Fīrōzī Karūtā*, "Kobād the victorious."

The epithet *ladī* or *gaḥī* is adopted first by Yazdegerd II (438-457) on his coins, then by Firōz I (459-484) and again by Kobad I (484-497 and 499-13th September 531). We find it also on the obverse of the coins of Shapūr III (383-388).

Bartholomaei and Dorn (*Mélanges asiatiques* 1858 p 375) find that the word is derived from the Semitic *gaḥī*, "felicity," whence *gaḥī*, "fortunate", the meaning of the word therefore being "the fortunate" and not the "king" as is translated. The pronunciation too should be *gaḥī* rather than *ladī*. This

word has of course no connection with the Arabic *qādhi*, "Muselman magistrate," which is written *cadī*. The literal translation of *Gadī* or *Kadī Fīrōz* is "the fortunate, victorious," but here it means "Fīrōz the fortunate" and not *King Fīrōz*.

On a gold coin in the Hermitage Museum, described by Drouin (*Bulletin numismatique*, vol II, 1893, p 61 sq), we find on the obverse the legend *Kavāṭī Kadī*, "Kobad the fortunate."

On the coins of Balash (484-488), brother of Fīrōz I, the name *Valkāsh* (which according to the polyphony of the Pahlavi letters was read *Vardā* a long time ago) is always preceded by the epithet *Hukad* or *Hūgad*. In Pahlavi *hū* means "good" and *lad* or *gad* means "felicity" in Semitic, so the epithet signifies "the felicitous" or "the fortunate," like the Greek *εὐτυχής* (See Bartholomaei and Dorn above cited).

When Khusrau II was firmly established on the throne (summer 591), he set himself to remove all dangerous persons, especially Bindōe and the other conspirators who had overthrown his father and put him on the throne. Bistām, who was governor of Khorasān, Kūmis, Gurgān and Tabaristan, was not so easily reached. When he saw himself condemned he made himself King in Media with the help of the remnants of Bahram Chōbīn's forces and in alliance with the Turks and the Dēlamites. On his defeat by Khusrau, he took refuge among the Turks who were at that time in possession of Transoxiana, where he fell by treachery.

This drachme of Bistām, with the regnal year ten, substantiates the statement of the Arab historian Dināwari—as against other authorities—whose account of the rebellion of Bistām is more detailed than that of Tabari and others. Dināwari says that Khusrau had to wait for ten years before he could avenge himself on Bistām. Accordingly Bistām may be said to have reigned for ten years, for he counted his regnal years from the time when Khusrau came to the throne. The first regnal year of Khusrau commenced from 27th June 590.

Noeldeke, however, is inclined to disbelieve Dināwari's assertion on the ground that "in that case the great war against the Romans would already have begun even before the suppression of the rebellion, which must, however, have so much drained the military and financial resources of the state that above all it needed a number of peaceful years."

Noeldeke's argument does not seem to me to be very strong, as the Roman war began early in 604.

Noeldeke gives the period of rule of Bistām from the beginning of 592 to the beginning of 596. He commenced to rule during the second regnal year of Khusrau, which era he also adopted, and hence we do not meet with any coins of his first regnal year.

To understand better their regnal years, I give the first ten with their equivalent dates of the Christian era, compiled from Noeldeke

<i>Regnal years</i>	<i>Dates of Christian era.</i>
1	from 27th June 590 to 26th June 591
2	„ 27th „ 591 „ 25th „ 592
3	„ 26th „ 592 „ 25th „ 593
4	„ 26th „ 593 „ 25th „ 594
5	„ 26th „ 594 „ 25th „ 595
6	„ 26th „ 595 „ 24th „ 596
7	„ 25th „ 596 „ 24th „ 597
8	„ 25th „ 597 „ 24th „ 598
9	„ 25th „ 598 „ 24th „ 599
10	„ 25th „ 599 „ 23rd „ 600

Noeldeke, in his *Tabari*, devotes one whole chapter (pp 478-487) on the rebellion of Bistam, Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, gives it in chapter XXIV, and Gutschmid treats of the event in the *Z D M G*, 1880, p 748, these three being the chief authorities on this subject

The genealogical table given at the end of this article shows the relationship existing between the house of Aspahbed, to which Bistam belonged, and the reigning house of Sasan (See Justi's *Namenbuch*, p 429)

The legend on the obverse of the coin has not been read correctly, and the enlarged facsimile given of it is so distorted that I take this opportunity of indicating the proper rendering. The word *fīrōchī* in the facsimile, if given alone, could never be deciphered aright. The first letter might perhaps be read *ī* or *-i*, the second is a ligature, the like of which is not in the Pahlavi alphabet, and the rest can be distinctly read *zōchī*.

The legend on the obverse together with the monogram and the legend on the reverse as copied from the original coin which the owner very kindly put at my disposal, are as follows —

Obverse —

𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 Firochī

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 Bistāhm

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 afzūn

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 monogram

Reverse —

ashra (ten)

RD (Hekatompylos)

Thus the legend '*Firozhi Vistakhm afzun*' means "Long live Bistam the victorious"

Bestam is the Greek form Βεστραμ and Βεστρα of his name which is in Pahlavi *Vistakhma* an Avestic name meaning "very strong". It is rendered *Ἰσταχμης* in the Perses or Æschylus and is found as *Wstam* and *Westam* in Armenian, *Bistam* in Arabic and *Gustehem* in Firdousi (See Drouin *Les Legendes des Monnaies Sassanides* *Revue Archeologique*, 1898, and also Justi's *Namenbuch* p 371)

It appears that Bistam struck coins at only one mint, which had for its monogram the letters RD

This mint appears on coins for the first time during the rule of Bahram IV (388 399), and was used during the reigns of Yezdegerd II (438 457) Firōz I (459 484) in 459 462 and 464 Balash (484 488) Kobad I (1st reign 488 497) and then in 522 during the second reign (499 531) of Kobad I. Its period of greatest activity is from 531 to 629 when it issued coin for 78 years at any rate out of 98. This mint is known to have been working for 90 different years and thus is the most prolific of all the Sassanian mints.

Noeldeke (*Z D M G*, 1877, p 150, and 1879 p 141) explains this monogram by *Rai* and the monogram *RIU* as *Rew Ardashir*, but Nordmann (*Z D M G*, 1879, p 120, no 21) and De Morgan (*Revue Numismatique* 1913, p 490, § 134) identify the monogram *RIU* with *Rai* or *Rei*, this being identical with *الرّی*, the mint of the Khalifa for their dirhams and the ancient Rhages in the vicinity of the modern Teheran.

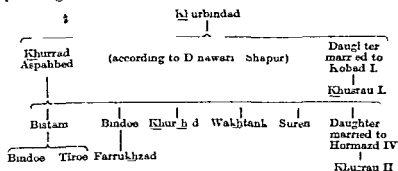
Nordmann (*Z D M G*, 1879 p 117, no 9) expresses a theory that the mint mark RD is a kind of monogram for Hekatompylos the letter R in Pahlavi signifying 100 and D being taken as the first letter of the word *د* or *دور* "gate of door", so that the Greek name Hekatompylos would be thus a free rendering of the monogram.

It was the first Parthian capital in Hyrcania, its ancient name being *Tarima*, the modern *Shahrūd* (Lat 32°22' N, Long 54°59' E).

In the lists of mints given by Nordmann (*Z D M G*, 1880, p 133), we find the mint-monogram RD in the second and third regnal years of Khusrau II, then in his eighth and ninth, but not

in the tenth year. It again continues from the eleventh almost regularly onwards. It appears also from the second to the sixth regnal years of Bistam. From this it will be seen that the coins of Khusrav as well as Bistam were struck at this mint for their second and third regnal years. The coins of Khusrav of his second year were struck here during the early part of the year whilst those of Bistam date from the latter part when he revolted the rebel striking his first coins with the regnal year two. The only known coins from this mint of the third year of Khusrav are of copper. Very possibly coins of other years still await discovery.

In the series of issues known to us from this mint the absence of Khusrav's coins of the tenth year is very striking and the fact gains additional interest from the finding of this coin of that date bearing the name of the rebel. The problem of his reappearance invites speculation but the materials at hand are so scanty that no useful purpose would be served by propounding a mere theory.



FURDOONJEE D J PABUCK

11 NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT NO. XXIX

Note—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 104 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1917

184 NOVILTIS IN GUPTA COINS

(With Plate VII)

A few days ago I had a chance of seeing three highly interesting Gupta coins with a dealer of Lucknow who brought them to me with a view to sell them to the Museum. My offer though quite reasonable was low in his estimation and as he expected an extravagant value I could not help returning them—of course after taking their casts which I reproduce below. However I still hope to get them for the Provincial Museum Lucknow unless some too liberal a customer turns up to take them away! All are of gold and at least two of them appear to be unique. The third bears some uncommon features and can very well be treated as a new specimen. I should therefore like to bring them to the notice of numismatists and publish them accordingly.

One of these coins is of Chandragupta II and presents a new variety of the *Couch type*. The remaining two are of Kumaragupta I one belonging to the *Peacock type* Var β while the other is an entirely new variety of the *Lion slayer type*. With this foreword I now proceed to notice the coins in detail.

(1) CHANDRAGUPTA II

New variety of Couch type

Obv—King facing right seated on couch in an easy posture after the oriental fashion having the left leg tucked up with right foot hanging over the couch on which rests his left leg the left elbow resting on the two pillows or cushions of the high backed couch. The right fore arm rests on the knee the hand holding a lotus-stalk. The object held in the left hand is not clear but looks like a lotus stalk. By the side of the couch under the left foot there is a vessel which I take to be a spittoon¹.

¹ The custom of keeping spittoons is still in vogue in this country where not only chiefs but all rich people living in the oriental style keep them as a matter of course. To those who are given to betel-chewing this is an indispensable item in the household furniture.

The marginal legend beginning from the proper left reads—

paramabīṇavarāṭ (ra)

The letters on the proper right margin are blurred and defy decipherment. The only *alsharā* which can be made out is *ti* followed possibly by a *ti arjā* of which the lower dot is quite distinct.

Rev—*lakṣmi nimbate* seated to proper right on a lotus on which the left hand is placed holding a cornucopia. The right hand holds what is possibly a noose or string. Underneath the lotus is a couch or throne of which two legs are visible. Below this is a symbol which I cannot make out. The legend on the left side which is separated by a long line reads—

Vikramāditjah

I know of only two specimens of the *Couch type* namely those of the British Museum and the Indian Museum which have been published and classed as α and β ¹. Both differ from this specimen which is therefore presumably unique and may be classed as variety γ . That it belongs to Chandragupta II is clear from the reverse legend *Vikramāditjah*. The legend beginning with *Paramabīṇavarāṭ* is to be seen on the *Horseman type* of his coins².

This piece resembles more or less the *Lyrist type* of Samudragupta coins and may have been modelled on it.

KUMARAGUPTA I

Peacock type

Var β

Obv—King nimbate standing left stooping slightly with left leg crossing the right which is bent at the knee wearing waist cloth and jewellery his left hand resting on hip and right hand apparently feeding the peacock which stands on the right side facing the king.

The legend on the right side reads —

*Jajati svagunairgunarās(īh)*³

On the left margin I find clear traces of eleven *alsharas* extending from the foot of the peacock to the nimbate of the

¹ Allen *Coins of the Gupta Dynasty* p. 33 Plate VI 8. V Smith *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta Vol. I* p. 104 Plate XV 10. J. A. S. B. 1834 p. 179 Pl. II. 13. *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* 1859 p. 6 Pl. I 13.

² See Allen *Coins of the Gupta Dynasty* p. 42.

³ Allen *Cat. of Gupta Dynasty* pp. 84-86.

king. Of these the last four, especially the 8th and the 9th which read *ndra* and *ku*,¹ may be read with some certainty as *ndrakumāra(h)*. This suggests the reading of the two preceding letters as *mahe*, thus giving the full name of the king viz *mahēn drakumāra*. The first letter on this side seems to read *sa* and the second perhaps stands for *tru*. If these two symbols really read *śatru* the next word cannot but be one which means destroyer or the like. The adjective like *nishadi* or *nihanti* can well fit in this tentative reading giving us one half of a verse in the *Vegvati* metre.

Rev—A *urīkeva* riding his peacock facing to front holding spear in left hand over shoulder with right hand probably sprinkling incense on altar. the peacock stands on a kind of platform, border of dots.

Legend to right reads—

Mahendrakumāra(h)

This piece exhibits two novelties on account of which the coin may claim to be unique. One is the reduplication of the symbol for *gu* in the epithet *gunarāśih* in accordance with Panini's aphorism *अचोरचाया इ^३* and the other is the position of the legs of the king which is different from that seen on all the coins of this type of *Kumāragupta I* which have been so far brought to light.

Lion slayer type

New Variety

Obv—King holding *gord* or *ankuśa* in right hand is seated on elephant which advances right and tramples a lion under his left foot, behind him is seated an attendant holding a *chhatra* over him. Several indistinct letters are to be seen on the margin. Of these six or seven appear to be more or less complete. Beginning from above the head of the elephant I would read *ksha(kshī) ta (ti) sa (śīa) ra* *kaka*.

Rev—Goddess *nimbate* wearing long robes standing left holding lotus² with stalk in left hand which rests on the waist, the right hand is extended upwards as if feeding the peacock who stands to the right with beak touching the hand. Border of dots. No symbol.

Legend commencing from above the right hand of the goddess reads—

Simhanāntā malendra(dityah)

Altogether I find traces of ten symbols three on the right and seven on the left side of the goddess. Of these eight are

¹ A specimen No. 255 noted by Mr. Allen also gives symbols for *kumara*.

² Panini viii. 4-46

pretty clear and can be made out with certainty. The *aksharas* just after the symbol for *ndra* or *ndrā* are indistinct but on the strength of what precedes them I think they can not be any thing else but symbols for *ditya(h)*. They could perhaps stand for *Kumā(rah)* but their shape will hardly admit of the latter reading. In either case the legend is I believe quite new, as is the coin which bears it. This I call a new variety of the *Lion slayer*, and not *Elephant rider* type because of the epithet *Sinlanihantā* found in the legend and owing to the fact that a lion is trampled to death on the obverse side. Mr Allen in his excellent catalogue has shown five varieties of the *Lion slayer* type of the coins of Kumārgupta I. In all of them the king shoots the lion while standing as is the case with the *Tiger-slayer* types, but here he kills it by the elephant he is riding. The reverse of this coin excepting the legend is that of the *Tiger-slayer* type, and omitting the trampling of the lion the obverse is like that of the *Elephant rider* type.¹

HIRANANDA SĀSTRI.

Luci' now

The 30th October, 1916

185 THREE INTERESTING SASSANIAN DRACHMES

[With Plate VIII.]

Of the three drachmes described below, one is of Kobad I and is of special interest in that it bears no legend on the obverse and no date but only the mint on the reverse. The others are of Hormazd IV one having on the reverse the date and the mint in changed positions contrary to the established usage, while the other is dated in his thirteenth regnal year.

Kobad I nephew and successor of Balash (484-488) and son of Firoz I (459-484) was not disposed to be the humble servant of the priests and nobles to whom he owed the crown and to humiliate them he played the dangerous game of encouraging Mazdak, the energetic priest of a new religion which demanded in the name of justice that he who had a superfluity of goods and several wives should impart to those who had none. This theory was actually put in practice to some considerable extent but then the nobility and clergy rose deposed Kobad, and imprisoned him in the 'Castle of Oblivion' (identified by Sir H. Rawlinson as Gilgerd in northern Susiana) placing his brother Jamasp on the throne in 497. Kobad however, escaped to the Hephthalites where he had once lived as a hostage,

¹ The only known specimen of the *Elephant-rider* type of Kumārgupta I is preserved in the Indian Museum Calcutta. (See Allen's Catalogue page 83.)

received in marriage the daughter of the king, and with his help expelled Jāmāsp and recovered his kingdom in 499

Kobād died, eighty-two years old, 13th September 531 and was succeeded by his destined heir, Khusrau I, surnamed Anōshīrvān "the Blessed", whom his father is said to have caused to be crowned as he lay on his deathbed.

Kobād or Kabād is the Avestic word *Kawātā* "found on the gate" (see the Bundelesh, Translation, West, 1880, p 136) It is Qobād according to the Arabic orthography and in Greek *Καβατης*, *Κοβιδης* *Κουαδης*, etc (See Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* p 159)

On his coins we find *Karāt* and rarely *Kavād*, amplified from his sixteenth year by the word *afzu nī* (from *afzu'nī'k* 'excellent') which is sometimes found abridged as *afzu* and *af* Kobād is the only king who has this word associated with his name On the coins of his successors *afzu'n* or *afzū't* is always separate and inscribed on the other side of the field During his first reign we find on the reverse his name *Karāt* with the indication of the city of issue

Although there were some exceptions during the reign of Firōz I, the usage of marking the regnal year on the drachmes was not established till the reign of Jāmāsp in 497 There after the date is inscribed in the field on the reverse to the left, the right being reserved for the mint monogram This usage became a definite convention which endured till the end of the Sassanian dynasty It was maintained by the Arabs in their copies of the Sāssānian drachme, struck in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era, and the Ispehbeds of Tabaristan followed the same usage on their coinage

With his restoration to the throne, Kobad adopted from his predecessors the practice of dating his coins The earliest certain date is of the year 11 (*iāzdeh*) which corresponds with 499 for the reading *aiokē* (one) mentioned by Doyn was disputed with reason by Bartholomaei (*Mélanges asiatiques*, April 1859, p 613) The last date is of the year 43 (*se chehel*), which is the year 531, the series between these two dates being complete

The mint monograms did not appear on the drachmes of the early monarchs till the reign of Bahram IV (388-399) During the time of this king and his successors Yezdegerd I (399-420) and Bahram V (420-438), the monograms, which are composed of a few letters only, were inscribed on the right and left or on both sides of the fire surmounting the altar on the reverse side of the drachmes Under Yezdegerd II (438-457) the monograms passed into the field on the right and were regularly confined to that place

From the year 13 during the second reign (499-531) of Kobād I, the Sassanian coinage is enriched with the marginal

addition of crescents and stars the conjunction of Venus and the Moon the emblem of felicity in ancient Iran

Description of the first drachme

Metal—Silver	Date—Nl
Weight—61 grams	Mint—BST (Bost)
Diameter—1 10 inches	

 Nl

 BST (Bost)

Obverse—Bust of Ling to right with a very short beard wearing an embattled crown surmounted by a crescent with the traditional Sassanian globe having a fillet floating on each side. A crescent on the forepart of the crown and a star behind it. Hair brought back in ringlets. A crescent over each shoulder and a fillet floating beside it. In front of the nose a pair of crescents and a star above them. Dress and necklace with three pendant pearls. The whole device enclosed in a grenetis with three crescents and stars on the margin.

Reverse.—An altar adorned with bands surmounted by the fire with two attendants. A star to the left and a crescent to the right of the fire. In the field to the left two letters which may be read Nl from the outside of the piece and to the right the mint-monogram BST. The whole device enclosed in a grenetis.

There is no legend on the obverse a very unusual occurrence on a Sassanian drachme. It will be seen from the crown and the design of the reverse that the coin is of Kobad I in his second reign. The two letters Nl to the left on the reverse may perhaps be the commencement of the date either *panch ist* (20) or *panch sh* (35) since they occupy the place of the date. They certainly do not represent *panch deh* (10) because the coin manifestly belongs to the later part of his second reign and the star in front of the head was introduced about the year twenty. I am somewhat inclined to regard the letters as the commencement of *panch sh* (35) since the drachme of this year figured in Dorn (Pl. XXI fig. 47) resembles very closely the coin under review also issued from the same mint and without any legend on the obverse.

The mint monogram BST represents the town of Bost which is thus written in full. From the position which it occupies on the coin this monogram cannot be confounded as a faulty inscription of the number twenty *ist* which is always written *ist* on the coins.

Vordtmann (Z D M G 1879, p 128 no 63) read this monogram BST and identified it with the town of Bost in Segistan (Seistan). He found it only on the drachmes of Kobād I years 35 (523) and 41 (529), and Khusrau I, year 12 (542).

De Morgan (Revue Numismatique, 1913, p 335, § 57) thinks that the last letter O is only a deformation of io and that this monogram represents Bost. He finds it only in 523 (year 35 of Kobād I).

I am of opinion that the last ligature is not a letter at all but a mark representing a full stop to show that the name Bost is written full in all its letters.

"According to Ebn Haukal and other writers it is one of the principal cities in the province of Seistan. It is the Abeste of Pliny. It was founded by Bastur the Bastavairi of the Avesta and the Nastur of the Shahnameh. It is said to have been founded at the time when King Gushtasp had gone to Seistan, to be a guest of Rustam and to propagate the Zoroastrian religion there a short time before his second war with Arjasp" (Shatrokha i Airan in the Asiatic Papers p 173 by Dr F J Modi).

The second coin was struck by Hormazd IV and has on the reverse the mint to the left and the date to the right in defiance of the established custom noted above.

Hormazd IV who ascended the throne in February 579 was the son of Khusrau I by the Turkish princess and on this account he is surnamed Turkzadeh son of the Turk. He was deposed and soon after put to death in the summer of 590.

Hormazd (Hormisdas Ormazd etc) is the abridged form of Ahuramazda Zend Ahura Creator and Mazdā Omniscient. The name is written in Pahlavi with the transposition of h Aūharmazdī. The Greek form Ὁρμιζδης implies that the pronunciation was Hormizd. (See Justi Namebuch p 7).

On his coins we find his name Auharmazī or Auharmaz accompanied by *afzu* or *afzun*.

Description of the second drachme

Metal — Silver	Date — Shata (six)
Weight — 57 grains	Mint — ZUZN (Zuzen)
Diameter — 1.20 inches	

• H H ZUZN (Zuzen)

 SHATA (Shata)

Obverse — Bust of king to right, wearing a high tiara, surmounted by the traditional globe. The hair brought back

in curls and a short beard Dress and necklace Over each shoulder a Sassanian fillet floating In front of the crown, a crescent and star and behind it, a star

Legend—In front of the face, *Auharmazī* (very much defaced owing to the deep impression on the reverse), and behind the head *afzu'n*

Auharmazī afzu'n "Long live Hormazd"

Grenetis and outside it on the margin three crescents and stars.

Reverse—An altar, adorned with bands, surmounted by the fire, having two attendants A crescent to the right and a star to the left of the fire

Legend—To the left in the field the mint ZUZN and to the right the date *shatā* (six)

Grenetis

The peculiarity of this drachme is that on the reverse the mint is engraved in place of the date and *vice versa* As far as I am aware this is the sole recorded instance of such a departure from the prevailing practice In the drachme figured by Dorn (Pl XXVI fig 12) the apparent change is due to the perversion of the design on the reverse, as the result of faulty die sinking When seen in a mirror the whole reverse presents no unusual feature

De Morgan (Rev Num, p 507, no 177) cites this mint monogram as unique in 590, and gives the reading GUGU as very doubtful He is unable to recall the name of any town answering to this reading

Mordtmann (Z D M G, 1854, p 23, no 44, Pl IV, no 51, and 1879, p 124, no 36) reads another monogram, similar to this but having a vertical stroke at the end instead of the dot, ZUZNU and identifies it with the town of Zuzen in Khorāsan De Morgan (p 507, no 75) reads it GUGUN without any identification There is also another monogram similar but having two vertical strokes at the end I am of opinion that these strokes are nothing but a full stop In the monogram on my coin there is a dot, which is also intended to show that the name is written in full with all its letters, as in the case of Bost, already noted.

The vertical stroke is either an O or an U and corresponds with the optional O which in MS Pahlavi is found following b, p t, ch k n and g, either in the body or at the end of words Even the oldest MSS fail to observe any uniformity as regards this redundant O, but insert or omit it indiscriminately This seems to show that O though inserted at a very early date was not pronounced

That the reading of Mordtmann is correct is substantiated by the similarity of the two letters ZU in the word *afzun* or *afzu* figured on the obverse of the later Sassanian drachmes It is equally certain that the first as well as the third letter is

an Z and not a G De Morgan is very cautious in accepting the reading of Mordtmann and remarks that it seems preferable to refrain from all interpretations until we possess a great number of coins or till one of these monograms is found in another epoch, permitting us to fix the value of the first sign

I read the monogram ZUZN on this coin and identify it with the town of Zuzen after Mordtmann "زوزن" Zewzen (also pronounced Zuzen) is a town and vast canton between Nishāpūr and Herat It was dependent ordinarily on the province of Nishāpūr It was surnamed 'Little Basrah' on account of its producing many doctors, savants and learned men

The name Zuzen was given in the following circumstances When the Magi transported the fire which they adored in Azer baijan to Seistan the camel which carried it, arrived on the site of this actual town knelt down and refused to rise again Its conductor then said to it *zud zen* (زود زن), that is to say, haste thee (عجل), but the animal did not move even when cajoled and struck It is in remembrance of this portent that a temple of fire was erected on that spot and was given this name" (Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse etc, p 290)

Description of the third drachme

Metal—Silver	Date—Sij deh (thirteen)
Weight—59 grams	Mint—RD (Hekatompylos)
Diameter—1 20 inches	

Aūharmazī afzūn

This coin is also of Hormazd IV and the description is almost the same as the last

Hormazd IV came to the throne in February 579 and as was customary he reckoned his first regnal year from the last New Year's day, which fell on 30th June 578 According to Noeldeke, he was deposed and killed in the summer of 590 It appears that these events took place soon after he entered his

thirteenth regnal year on 27th June 590 as can be proved from the coins of Khusrâu II Bahram Chôbin and Bistam. They reckoned the commencement of their first regnal year from 21st June 590. That shows that the deposition and the death of Hormazd IV took place after the year had changed otherwise they would have reckoned even the few days preceding the new year as their first regnal year.

It must have taken some time for the news of the events in Ctesiphon the capital to reach distant Hekatompylos and in the meantime coins were struck and issued in the name of Hormazd IV bearing the year 13. (See what is said by Gutschmid ZDMG 1880 p 746)

Mordtmann (ZDMG 1880 p 126) mentions an unique piece in his collection dated in the year 13 (*sij deh*) of Hormazd IV. He says: Till now no other specimen is known of the year 13. The letters are accurate and distinct and particularly the year 13 is undoubtedly entire: it is written *sij deh*. Such is the case with the coin now described.

Mordtmann's coin was struck at Gondishapur the city between Dizful (Lat $32^{\circ}22'N$ Long $48^{\circ}21'E$) and Shushter (Lat $32^{\circ}3'N$ Long $48^{\circ}53'E$) whose ruins are now known as Jundishapur. It was founded by Shapur I and Khusrâu I instituted there a university specially for the study of medicine.

جندی شاپور Jondî Shapour or گندی شاپور Gondî Shapour is a considerable city populous and pleasant abounding in dates and the produce of agriculture. (Ouseley Ibn Haukal p 77)

Drouin (*Les legendes des monnaies Sassanides* p 49) speaks of a piece of Khusrâu II of the year 39 (*nuj sth*) in the Hermitage Museum struck at Darâbgerd. There is another in the Bartholomaei collection (Pl. XXX fig 43) struck at Meibud. The year 39 commenced on 1st June 678 though Khusrâu II had been deposed on the 25th February 678 and killed four days later on the 9th. Drouin explains this fact by the ignorance of the death of the king in the cities remote from the capital and thus supports my theory. (See also what is said by Noel leke Tabari p 432 Mordtmann ZDMG 1880 p 140 and Gutschmid ZDMG 1880 p 746)

11th October 1916

FULLOONJEL D. J. FARUCK

186 ON A SILVER COIN OF THE SASSANIAN KING KHOREZAD KHUSRAU

[Note.—In order that the French and German notations be well comprehended I have thought fit to give the *ex* fairly literal translation into English rather than giving them in the original language.]

According to Drouin the essays of Mordtmann combined with the plates of Bartholomaei should be used still as the

basis of all Sassanian studies Dorn in his preface to these plates (page 9) remarks "In this magnificent collection one seeks in vain coins of the two Sassanian queens Boran dukht and Azerm dukht and other ephemeral kings, if they ever struck any coins But the absence of these is compensated by many others which are not found elsewhere In any case this collection is unique of its kind and the most complete that is known to me" Though new types have been published, no addition has been made to the list of sovereigns whose coins are known save in the case of Bistam and Queen Boran The discovery of coins of any sovereign not mentioned in these plates can be regarded without question as a matter of great numismatic interest

I bought recently two parcels of Sassanian coins several of which are very rare Out of these I found two similar in design to those of the last years of Khusrau Parviz On the obverse of one is the face of a king with moustache and beard and on the other that of a young boy without the slightest trace of any hair on the lips or chin The reverse of both are practically the same in design, having the same mint (NIHCh) and same year (two) The former bears the legend on the obverse "*Auharmazī*," the latter "*Khusrūi*" The crowns of both these kings are exact copies of that which adorns the head of Khusrau Parviz in the issues of the last years of his reign (Dorn, Pl XXX)

Thomas (Sassanians in Persia, p 26) says "That these headdresses have considerable significance in the attribution of our medals, and in most cases, even where the legends are hopelessly obscure or obliterated, we can place our specimens with the utmost certainty by the test of the form of the crown, which was officially adopted and usually retained throughout as the banner or special discriminatory emblem of the ruling monarch"

On that assumption as well as the general design and the legends I assign the former coin to Hormiazd V (Dorn, Pl XXXI, fig 2 *) and the latter to Khusrau But the question is, which Khusrau? Of course the one who ruled after Khusrau Parviz, because on comparing the portrait and tiara of his second year (Dorn, Pl XXVIII, figs 3 and 4) with those of my coin, a vast difference is at once noticeable, forcing us to the conclusion on common numismatic grounds that this coin is of a king who ruled after Khusrau Parviz As far as is known to us there were three Khusraus who attained the kingship for a space during the period of anarchy

Mordtmann (Z D M G, 1880, p 145) mentions a coin on which he reads the name "*Kesra*" It is a reading which is altogether uncertain Thomas had proposed for this the reading "*Iarashī*" in 1872 The Arab form "*Kesra*" which was formed much later is impossible on a Sassanian coin where the

word would be written in Pahlavi as "*Khusrui*" (Drouin, *Revue Numismatique*, III, 11, 1893, p 168)

Drouin refers (on the above page cited) to a coin of Khorezad Khusräu. He says "We have of a certainty the coins of Kobad Shiroë (on whose coins we have the name Kobād Firoz) Ardešīr III, Boran, Khorezad Khusräu and Yazdegird." He has not mentioned Hormazd V, whose coins also are known.

Noeldeke (Tabari, p xxviii) describes a coin of Khorezad Khusräu in the Berlin Museum. "After the printing of this book was almost completed Dr. Ermann sent me the cast of a Pahlavi coin from the Royal Coin Cabinet of Berlin which, to judge by its appearance, belongs to the latest period of the empire and shows the name of Chosrau (*Khusrū*). The number of the year is two (*tarīn*) and the mint NIH. As Dr. Ermann conjectures, this can only be Choresad Chosrau. During his brief reign therefore there occurred a new year's day, the second year which he counts is conjecturally that beginning with the 16th June 632 and is consequently the first of Yazdegird III. A particularly interesting fact is that he is represented on the coin as wholly beardless like Ardashīr III and like Yazdegird III in his earlier days. He was therefore like the latter a child invested with the semblance of power by certain of the nobles. This very well fits in with the tradition."

Drouin supports Noeldeke in ascribing the coin to Khorezad Khusräu. "We believe very willingly with Noeldeke that the piece in the Cabinet of Berlin which he describes (p xxviii of his Tabari), with the legend Khusrui is of Khosroes III Khorezad." *Revue Archeologique* 1898, p 200)

Justi (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Vol II, 1900 p 545) speaks of a coin of Khorezad Khusräu which is dated from the second year. It is the same that is mentioned by Noeldeke and Drouin.

My coin is similar to the one in the Berlin Museum, described by Noeldeke, as will be seen from the illustration and its description later on.

Drouin laments (*Revue Numism.* III, 11, 1893, p 167) that "The history of the last Sassanians is confusing and difficult to establish. Between Khusräu Parviz who died in February 623 and the accession of Yazdegird III, the last monarch of this celebrated dynasty, at the end of 632, that is to say during a space of four years, nearly ten sovereigns or pretenders came to the throne. This confusion arose partly from the brevity of the reign of each of these monarchs and partly from Oriental historians who do not agree as to either the number of these princes or their names. There are almost as many different lists as there are historians. They provide us with so many discouragingly different readings in the royal series of the last Sassanians. We can only hope that possibly Numismatics will throw some light on this confusion."

My investigations into the history of the coinage of this period have led me to expect a much lower degree of exactitude than I was at one time prepared to demand. The materials, either legendary or monumental, hitherto available for elucidating this history, are but scanty and it is unreasonable to expect much help from numismatics, when the number and variety of the coins of the last ephemeral sovereigns of the Sassanian dynasty are so limited.

To understand the history of these sovereigns I cannot do better than quote so distinguished a specialist on Iranian subjects as Justi (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Vol II, 1900, p. 545), whose terse account contains all the historical information we require for our immediate purpose.

"During the time of his (i.e. Kobad Shiroe's) minor son Ardāshīr III there took place a greater incursion of the Khazars in Georgia, Albania and Armenia. Shahrvaraz was defeated both in Utī and in the vicinity of Lake Jelam (Broset, *His de la Georgie*, additions 493). Thereafter this general, having obtained the consent of Herakleios at a meeting in Arabissos, removed the youthful monarch and himself ascended the throne on the 27th April 630. He was slain on the 9th June. In Khorasan he was opposed by Khusrau III, the son of Kavādh, a brother or more correctly son of Ormazd IV, immediately after the death of Ardāshīr. Then we find mentioned a Juvanshēr, son of Khusrau II, and Gurdia, a sister of Bahram Chūbīn who according to certain sources had already been assassinated by Siroe (see Noeldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers.* 390, note 2). After Shahrvaraz, Bōran, who is alleged to have been married to him, was crowned in Ktesiphon. She was a daughter of Khusrau. She finally concluded peace with the emperor. The restoration of the holy cross is ascribed to her, but it was received earlier by Herakleios (according to Theophanes in 503 from Kavādh), because it was ceremoniously set up on the 14th September 629, and it was later brought to Byzantium (see Guidi's *Syrische Chronik* 32). Bōran reigned from May 630 to October 631 (these dates are inferable from the coins, see Drouin, *Revue Numism.* III, 11, 1893, 162). It appears that she abdicated the throne in consequence of the defeat of her general. After the brief interregnum of Jushnasbandeh, a cousin or more correctly nephew, of Khusrau II and son of Kavādh (according to Tabarī), the brother of Khusrau II, there came to the throne Āzarmīdukht, a second daughter of Khusrau II, who, however, found a rival king in Ormazd V, the son of one of the sons of Khusrau II killed by Siroe, who according to his coins, which are still existing, upheld himself till his second year, that is up to the first year of Yazdegerd, and then was killed by the soldiers in Nisibin. After the assassination of Āzarmīdukht there followed a Khusrau IV, son of Mihr Jushnasp and a grandson of Khusrau I. Then came Pērōz called Jushnasban

deh, probably his brother, and after him a son of Khusrau II, who had escaped murder, named Khurrazad Khusrau, of whom we possess a coin which is dated from the second year, so that he must have reigned shortly before and after the New Year's day, 16th June 632 (Noeldeke, *Gesch d Perser* XXVIII). Thus between the death of Khusrau II on the 29th of February, 629, and the advent of Yezdegerd III, from whom the era of Yezdegerd is dated 16th June 632 there reigned twelve persons and during this chaos the lance thrusts of the Arabs threatened the gates of the Empire."

It seems clear that Khorezad Khusrau and Ferrukhzad Khusrau are the names of one and the same person. There is a great deal of confusion between the words "ferrukh" and "khore" both having the meaning of "Majesty" and employed for designating the king. For this confusion see Noeldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 292 and 395, *Gudi*, *Syrische Chronik*, 1893 p. 24, *Justi*, *Namenbuch*, p. 97, and *Hubschmann*, *Iranica* in *Z D M G*, 1893, p. 622.

Khorezad Khusrau was a son of Khusrau Parviz. He reigned for a short time before and after the 16th June 632, and was slain in the second half of 632 or the first half of 633.

I think I am not far wrong in concluding from the history of this period that more than one sovereign ruled simultaneously in different capitals set up by the contending factions. This state of things has perhaps led to the confusing nature of the dates. In order that some idea may be formed I place before those who would interest themselves in the pursuit, a certain amount of materials collected for my own use, which have a special bearing on this period, but which circumstances make it impossible for me to utilize immediately to the full.

Description of the Coin

Metal—Silver

Weight—61.5 grains

Size—Oval, 1.5" x 1.25"

Date—Two

Mint—Nishch

Obverse—The bust of king to right wearing a crown adorned with two wings and surmounted by a crescent and star. The hair of the head is brought behind and arranged in a cluster of locks. The face is that of a boy without the slightest trace of moustache or beard, having in the ear a triple pendant of pearls. Round the neck, a pearl necklace having two pendant pearls in front and two strings of pearls reaching below the bust. The dress is adorned with a crescent and star on each shoulder. In the field over both shoulders float a Sassanian fillet and a crescent over the left shoulder near the chin. Between the crown and the wing behind the head is a

Names of Sovereigns	Mirchond	Hamza	Noeldeke, Tabari	Mordtmann	Droum
Husrau Parviz	38 years	38 years	Dethroned, 25th February 628. Died, 29th February 628.	End of reign, 25th February 628	Death, February 628
Kobād Shiroo	8 months	8 months	Accession, 25th February 628	Accession, 25th February 628	Accession, February 628
Ardashir III	50 days	1 year 6 months	September 628	November 628	September 628
Shahr barāz	1 year or 40 days	1 year or 40 days	27th April 630 to 9th June 630	628	April to May 630
Juvanshēr	1 year	1 year		630	
Hōrān	16 months	1 year 4 months	Summer 630 to Autumn 631	630	May 630 to October 631
Kiroz Jushnaspaudeh	6 days	Some days	1 month	January 631	
Azerinidukht	8 months	"	6 months	March 631	
Khusrau	Very few days	"	Some days	May 631	
Kīroszād Khusrau	"	1 year	"	"	
Tiroz	"	"	"	"	
Ferrukhād Khusrau	Not above a month	Not above a month	"	July 631	
Hormazd V	"	"	"	September 631	
Yezdegerd III	20 years	20 years	End of 632 or beginning of 633 to 651 or 652	16th June 632 to between 21st March and 23rd August 651	Accession, December 632 killed September 651

star and in front of the crown, below the wing, a crescent and star. A larger portion of the bust of the king is portrayed than on the coins of monarchs immediately preceding or succeeding him.

Legend — In front of the face reading from top from the outside of the coin *Khusrū*.

Behind the head reading from top from the inside of the coin a monogram and below it *af utū Khusrus afutu =* "Long live Khusrāu."

The whole device except the two wings is enclosed in double grenetis outside of which on the margin are set three crescents and stars to the left, right and at the bottom.

Reverse — A blazing fire altar adorned with bands having two personages on both sides wearing tiaras surmounted by a crescent and a fillet floating from their tiaras. Both their hands resting on their swords. In the field to the left of the fire a star to the right a crescent and a dot on each side of the upper base of the altar.

Legend — To the right *NIHQ* (Nihchavan), to the left, *tarin* (two).

Triple grenetis outside on the margin of which are set four crescents and stars disposed in a cross.

Obv

𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 — 𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 *Khusrus afutu*

Rev

𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 *tarin* 𐎧𐎠𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹 *NIHQ*

Obv

Rev



What is the significance of the crescents and stars on this coin? The conjunction of Venus and the moon was a sign of

good luck and prosperity in ancient Iran. This celestial phenomenon is represented for the first time on the drachmes of Phraates IV, son of Orodes, the Arsacid king who reigned from 37 B. C. to 4 A. C. Is it a sort of irony that Phraates IV, the parricide and fratricide, had chosen this symbol? The Pahlavi word which designated this astrological conjunction was *nazdale* (Avesta, *nazda*), the Arabic word *'iqṭiran* becomes *qiran* in Modern Persian. The sign of the conjunction reappears on the coins of Firōz in the third year of his reign (460 A. C.). This symbol is set on the coins of this sovereign and of his successors above the altar on the reverse till the end of the dynasty. Besides it is figured, on the obverse to the right and to the left of the royal crown, from Kobad (488 A. C.). Lastly, dating from the thirteenth year of the reign of the same monarch, the symbol of the reunion of Venus in the crescent is figured at three places on the margin of the obverse of the piece, and it hereafter forms part of the Sāsānian type until after the conquest and under the Arab governors of Persia. We know that these governors had adopted for their coins the type of the Sassanian piece with the legends in Pahlavi, and the figure of the altar of fire, albeit contrary to the religion of Muhammad. The altar and the symbol disappear from the purely Arab coins bearing Kufic characters but the astrological figure becomes the emblem of the Muslims and formed the origin of the crescent on the banner of Muhammad.

The Persian astrology had been borrowed with its wise organisation from the Babylonians. The Avesta and the Pahlavi literature make frequent mention of astrological devices side by side with the cosmological and meteorological phenomena. In the history of the Sassanians it is often connected with the horoscopes and the consultation of stars by the sovereigns. We find in consequence, on engraved gems numerous astrological subjects, notably the signs of the zodiac and the image of Anahita, the only goddess that is represented. The name of Venus, in the Avesta is Anahita 'the immaculate'. It was peculiarly adored in Persia and the Avesta contains a very poetic hymn about this goddess. 'The high and powerful immaculate which has descended from the stars upon the Earth'. It belongs to the epoch in which the cult of this strange divinity was introduced by Artaxerxes Mnemon (404-361 B. C.). It is thus we can explain the presence of the figure of Anahita on the Sassanian engraved gems. In the first century of the Christian era, Anahita is confounded with Artemis. In the Chaldean astrology the name of this planet is Ishtar (the goddess of the sky, *bēlit-shame*), famous in the Assyro-Babylonian mythology, and this becomes the Astarté of the posterior Semitic religions. In the cuneiform texts the name of Anahita is *Damīqitū* (from *damaqou*, to be pure), she is the goddess of the waters, wife of Iao, god of the ocean, the pure element

par excellence. The Greeks have transformed Damigitou in *Δαμιγί* and the Persians have translated the name in their language, but they have changed the attribution and have applied to the planet Venus, on account of its brilliant light, the name of the Chaldean goddess of purity. During the Pahlavi period the name of Venus was Anahita but the modern Persian name is *nāhid* and the Arabic is *zahera*, which has the same meaning of "brightness" (Drouin Gazette belge de Numismatique Bruxelles, 1901)

The moon in the Cuneiform inscriptions is *ilu Sin* 'the god Sin,' in the Avesta it is the god Maonlia, which in Persian became Mah. Whether at a remote epoch the Avesta people gave, like the Babylonians, to the moon the precedence over the sun (see Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1905, p. 72) cannot be proved from the Avesta. The sun as the orb of the day, giving light and warmth, the moon as the light of the night, regulating the time by its waxing or waning, have from the most ancient times been the object of worship. Both are often invoked in the Avesta. The *Khōrshēd yasht* and *Khōrshēd Nyayish* are dedicated to the sun, and the *Mah Yasht* and the *Mah Nyayish* to the moon. In the writings of the younger Avesta the religion of Zoroaster no longer appears in its original state, but has in the course of time lost a part of its old traditions and taken up various new elements (see Geldner *Ueber die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, p. IV). It is certain that in the latest times of the Sassanians who called themselves brothers of the moon and wore a crescent on their diadem, as we see from their coins the cult of the moon became more and more important. It is indeed possible that the cult of the moon god was transmitted from Babylonia. A testimony to the higher rank of Sin, the moon god in Babylon is the computation of time according to the moon phases the moon being on account of the regularity of its changes a better guide for men than the sun. (See Jastrow I pp. 66, 67, 72 and 73)

Recently Huesing has expressed the opinion (*Iranischer Mondkult Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* IV, 349-357) that the moon played a part of considerable importance in the Iranian religion. The orb which, in the stereotyped representations in relief of the Achaemenian tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam floats in the air above the fire-altar, is according to him intended for the moon. In Stolze's well known work the author believes that he recognises on the first tomb of Persepolis the crescent at the base of the orb. In Dieulafoy's book (*L'Art Antique de la Perse Achéménides Parthes Sassanides*, Paris 1884-86) the half circle as the author says, may be seen quite distinctly for example in Plate IV, *Tombeau de Darius*. Dieulafoy speaks of it plainly as the "disque lunaire" (III partie p. 4). Hitherto most scholars took this orb or rather globe for an emblem of the sun. Ker Porter who visited the

tombs, says in his description (Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc., Vol I, pp 516-524) of this first tomb relief as follows "A pedestal of three steps is surmounted by an altar evidently charged with the sacred fire, a large flame of it appearing at the top high over it, to the right, we see a *globular shape*, doubtless intended for the sun, of which the fire below was the offspring and the emblem" Spiegel (Eran Altertumsk III 810) says "A globe which no doubt is intended for an emblem of the sun or of Mithra" Also Weissbach (Grundr d ir Phil II 57) takes the disc for the sun, and K. D. Kiash, who, like Weissbach, visited these tombs on the spot, expresses himself as follows (Ancient Persian Sculptures or the Monuments, Buildings, Bas Reliefs Rock Inscriptions, etc. belonging to the kings of the Achæmenian and Sassanian Dynasties of Persia by K. D. Kiash, Bombay, 1889, p 140) 'Opposite him (i.e. the king) on a platform is a burning censer, on the top of which is an emblem of the rising sun' On the excellent reproduction which Kiash gives on Plate xlvii a shade is drawn into the circle above the fire altar which has I believe, no other purpose than to point out that the emblem is a *globe* and not a mere circle. A photographic reproduction of this relief, representing a globe, will show on the right or the left side and beneath according to the distribution of light a shade which may be mistaken for a crescent. No doubt a celestial orb is represented here but the crescent which Huesing professes to see in Stolze's work is, I think, nothing else but the shade of the globe which the photographic reproduction gives unmistakably. Perhaps the difference between the representations of Stolze and Dieulafoy may be explained by the different distribution of light on the occasion of photographing. A. V. W. Jackson (Persia Past and Present, pp 237-8) who visited the tombs takes the orb for the sun. 'The monarch is portrayed in the same manner as he is seen on the Behistan sculptures bow in hand, but his attitude is now that of worship before the sacred fire, over which floats the familiar winged effigy of Auramazda with the emblem of the sun shining in the background.' We must bear in mind the prominent place which the moon worship undoubtedly held in very ancient times in Babylonia, Armenia and in Persia under the Sassanians. If Huesing is right, the moon cult of the Iranians should have existed already at the time of Darius I. Also Christensen (Orientalistische Literaturzeitung VII, pp 49-52) thinks it not improbable that, at any rate in the time of Zoroastrianism, the cult of the moon god was closely connected with fire worship.

The veneration of fire especially of the fire of the hearth is one of the most ancient religious conceptions. It is not astonishing, therefore, to find it also in the Avesta, which preaches everywhere veneration for the element of fire. Hence we find

on the coins the fire-altar, which is not of the king as suggested by Mordtmann, but as Drouin rightly affirms consecrated by the king, and I think Thomas is right in representing it (Sassanians in Persia, p. 18) as "the small portable altar depicted on the coins, which, as a portion of the religious paraphernalia, formed so constant an accompaniment of regal processions and royal progresses, from the days of Cyrus the Great to those of Yezdegird, who carried his revered fire in its fit receptacle even in his last hasty flight before the conquering Arabs."

On account of the veneration of fire the Persians have often been called "fire-worshippers." It would be equally logical for Christians to be called "Cross-worshippers" after the symbol of their faith. Even in early times Muhammadan writers have endeavoured to defend the Persians from this charge. The immortal Firdausi says in his *Shāh-nāmeh* :

مگوی که آتش پرستان بودند پرستندگان پاک بزبان بودند

"Say not that they (i.e. the Persians) were worshippers of fire, they were worshippers of the Holy God."

It will suffice to say that the Persians and their descendants the Parsis do not worship fire as a divinity. Fire was considered by Zoroaster as the purest symbol of the Divinity, and is held by the Zoroastrians to be the emblem of refulgence, glory and light, the truest symbol of God, the invisible Creator of the universe. Therefore the observances paid to fire are very prominent.

I must deal at some length on the monogram on the obverse and the mint-name on the reverse of this coin, in continuation of my previous note on the coin of Queen Bōrān.

There appeared a monogram which replaced *afzū* on the coins of Hormazd IV in the sixth year of his reign. (Dorn, Pl. xxvi, fig. 11). This monogram is composed of several letters and strictly speaking it is but a conventional representation of the word *afzū*, which it has replaced. The interpretation of this sign has caused a good deal of discussion, and has been interpreted in diverse ways by Dorn (*Bulletin Histor.*, 1843 and *Mélanges asiatiques*, t. III, 1857); Stickel (*Handbuch der morgenländischen Münzkunde*, 1870, p. 98 and following); Mordtmann (*Z.D.M.G.*, VIII, XII, XXXIV, p. 129); Thomas (*Indo-Sassanian Coins*, 1883, p. 17); and Drouin (*Revue Archéologique*, 1884, 1885 and 1898).

We find later on, under Khusrau II, the word *afzūn*, *afzūt* or *afzūtū* accompanied by a monogram, which is similar to that on the coins of Hormazd IV, and was adopted as a rule by his successors to the throne of Persia and preserved by all the governors and princes who struck coin after the Sassanian type. Drouin asks us to distinguish them separately but Mordtmann thinks that the second is only the degeneration of the first.

Thomas reads *salam* for the first sign and *amach* for the second, but he adds that the right sense remains an enigma. Mordtmann reads *zamān afzūt* "tempus augeatur", Stickel, *sim* "argentum auctum", Dorn, *gadman*, and Drouin has decided on *gadah* "majesty" and translates this monogram generally with *afzūn* by "long live his majesty". He at the same time adds "But nothing justifies these diverse readings, as we do not find in this symbolic sign any element of the word '*gadah*'". It is certain, nevertheless, that this unknown sign represents a word which must go with *afzūn*, and if it is not the Semitic word *gadah*, it ought to be something equivalent which must rather preserve for us the significance of this monogram. The Persian dictionary Borhan i Katib gives in express terms "Gadman is an old word which in Zend (Pahlavi) and in Pazend (Farsi) is pronounced gadmin and signifies the spiritual light and splendour".

Clearly the savants are far from being in accord as to the reading of this monogram on the coins of *Khusrau II* and his successors. It cannot be a sign without any meaning, but turn it in any direction whatsoever and no word can be made of it without stretching a point here and there so as to yield the diverse renderings quoted.

How did the monogram originate? It first appeared as we have seen by replacing the word *afzu*, and in such a form that the original word is legible enough. The gradual evolution could be well seen in Dorn (Pl. xxvi, figs 11, 12 and 14 and Pl. xxvii, fig 20). The word *afzu* could at first be traced, but when we come to *Khusrau II* no vestige of the word remains and that is in my opinion the main reason which induced Drouin to distinguish both monograms. The view of Mordtmann, who takes the latter to be the degeneration of the former, is reasonable. One very remarkable fact is that while we do not find any monogram on the coins of Bahram Chobin the monogram of *Khusrau II* appears on the coins of Bistām both rebels aspiring to the throne. If Dorn (pl. xxviii and following) be studied, it will be seen that the meaning of the symbol is lost and the defunct monogram is placed above the word *afzu*. If there is at all any meaning to be attached to the monogram of *Khusrau II*, I would suggest that it is the degenerate form of the monogram of Hormazd IV which replaced the word *afzu*. The original significance of the monogram must have been forgotten for otherwise the employment of two words one above the other, both having the same sense would be a pleonasm difficult to admit.

Although we do not find any monogram on the coins of Bahram Chobin the device occurs on some but by no means all the coins struck in the first year of *Khusrau II*. Tabari (Zotenberg, t. II, p. 269) relates that Bahram Chobin had struck at Rai a hundred thousand dirhems in the name of

Khusrau, son of Hormazd, though he was at the time only a Prince Royal, and that these dirhems have the face of Khusrau on both sides. Drouin admits (*Revue Archeologique* 1898) that "It is not impossible, nevertheless, that the fact of the issue is accurate, that among the coins we have of Khusrau II with the date of year one "aiohi," the figure and the youthful appearance indicate that they appertain to this issue." In my opinion those without the monogram and without the winged crown are actually the coins mentioned by Tabari but with the face of Khusrau on one side only.

The mint is expressed on this coin in four letters NIHCh Ed. Thomas (*Journal R A S* 1852 p 402, Pl I No 3) con-founded this monogram with VIH, ignoring the bent form of the extremity of H which presents itself very clearly on the coins. This curve in the form of C can only be the letter Ch.

Mordtmann (*Z D M G*, 1879, p 120, No 25) followed Thomas in taking both the monograms together and read NIH. He identified them with Nishapur and added that in Pahlavi Nishapur was also written Nshapur. But some hesitancy is revealed by his remark that it is not clear whether both these monograms mark the same locality as both of them are found in the same years viz, Khusrau I, year 14 28 32, Hormazd IV year 10, 11 Khusrau II, every year.

Subsequently (*Z D M G*, 1879 p 125, No 45) he read this same monogram on a coin of Khusrau II year 9 as NACH and expressed his belief in the identity of the monogram with the name of ناکھون or ناکھون Nakhjevan on the Araxes on the Russo-Persian frontier the *Nakhovana* of Ptolemy (V 13).

These readings are no longer tenable in view of the conclusive arguments of De Morgan (*Revue Numismatique*, p 360, § 118) "This reading (NACH) seems very doubtful if we take into consideration the numerous specimens which have passed through our hands. The presence of C (Ch) is certain while as for the intermediate letter it is composed of two strokes rounded off and not squared as in A. Frequently the first is completely separated from the second which forms the head of H. We think therefore that it must read NIHC and not NAC. If this reading of Mordtmann were acceptable his interpretation would involve the attribution of the value Kh for the Pahlavi A which does not take place in this instance.

The reading NAHC admittedly suppresses the A in Nakhcheran but it should be noted that the Arabs occasionally wrote the name of this town as ناکھري and in no case did they introduce the intervening ahf. We therefore get the result NIHCavan."

Unfortunately he does not give the situation of this town. Owing presumably to an error on the part of the printer the

THE GENEOLOGICAL TREE OF THE LAST SOVEREIGNS OF THE SASSANIAN DYNASTY

{ The dates in brackets are the reigns of the }
 { sovereigns }
 { The numbers indicate their order }

(The ones marked * are princes)

23 Khusrau I
 (13th Sept 531 to Feb 579)

24 Hormazd IV
 (Feb 580 to Summer 590)

Yazdandad

*Chaharbakht = VI August 590

Kobad

31 Khusrau II
 (Summer 590 to 24th Feb 628)

{ Sumner 590 to 24th Feb 628 }
 killed 29th Feb 628

34 Gushnashtad
 (631)

37 Khusrau IV
 (631)

38 Feroz II
 (632)

Shahrbar

38 Kobad II
 { 24th Feb 628 to Sept 628 }

39 Juwan-sher
 (630)

33 *Boran
 { May 630 to Oct. 631 }

*Azarmidukht
 { 6 months 631 to 632 }

39 Khusrau
 (632)

Son

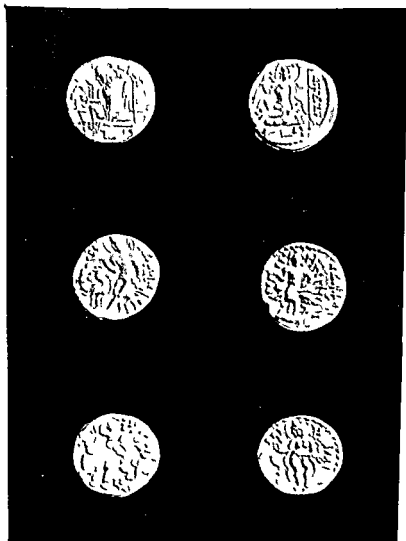
4) Yazdgerd III
 { Killed 1st of 632 or first half of 633 to Sept 633 }

39 Ardeshir III
 { Sept 628 to 27th Apr 630 }

26 Bahram VI Chobin (Late Summer 590 to Spring 591)
 { 27 Bstam (end of 591 or beginning of 592 to end of 593 or beginning of 596)
 { 30 Shahrbaraz (27th April 630 to 9th June 630)

39 Hormazd V
 (631 to 632)

These three did not belong to the house of Sasan



SHASTRI THREE GUPTA GOLD COINS

5 NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT NO XXX.

Note —The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 178 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1917

187 TWO RARE SASANIAN DRACHMS

Hormizd II the eighth Sāsānian monarch was the son of Varses (293—303 A C), and reigned from 303 to 310

On his coins we find one or other of the epithets *bagi* 'divinity' or *vōhū* 'excellent' preceding his name but on this drachme neither of them appears. Also its weight of 68 grms is very high

Description of the Drachme

Metal—Silver Diameter—1" Weight—68 grams

Obverse—Bust of king to right wearing a pearl beaded crown in the form of an eagle with a pearl dropping from its beak, from which depend the flowing Sāsānian fillets, and surmounted by the traditional globe studded with pearls. The hair is brought back and arranged in flowing curls, and the carefully dressed beard terminates in a point. The bust is fully clothed a pearl drop in the ear and a pearl necklace with a jewelled clasp in front. Grenetis

Legend—*Ma-da-jasn iuharmādi malkān (malkā) Aīrān* (ia Inīrān) *minō-chitrī (min ya-dān)* Mīzda worshipping Hormizd, (king) of the kings of Aīrān (and Anīrān) of spiritual origin (from the sacred beings)

Reverse—The holy *pyreum* with the *frōhar* turned to left issuing from it on an altar adorned with bands having the king to the left with his appropriate eagle turra surmounted by the usual globe holding his sword upright and dressed as a pontiff fulfilling the functions of a *mōbed* and on the right assisted by the *herbet* wearing a mural crown and flowing robe, holding his sword also erect both facing the holy *pyreum*. A lot on the base of the altar. Grenetis

Legend—There are strokes instead of the legend on the right and left of the piece



II

Kobād I died eighty two years old 13th September 531 and was succeeded by his destined heir, Khusrau (Chosroes) surnamed Anosharvan 'the Blessed,' whom his father is said to have caused to be crowned as he lay on his death bed. Khusrau I was a great king and deserved the title of 'the Just.' He died in February 579.

The interesting peculiarity of his drachme described below is that the regnal year is inscribed in Pahlavi *chēhār* (4) instead of the Semitic *arba*. On Sasanian coins the numerals (written in words) indicating the regnal years from two to ten are all Semitic but one and from eleven upwards are all Pahlavi. In the extreme east of the empire and far from the Semitic influence coins were struck at Merv in the regnal year four of Khusrau I with the numeral written in Pahlavi *chēhār* a very unusual occurrence. Uptill now only two specimens are known the one in the Bartholomaei collection (pl. XXII fig. 6) with the name of the king *Khusrau* on the obverse and another in the cabinet of Mordtmann (Z D M G 1880 p. 120) but without any legend on the obverse. Now my coin has only one letter *u* the second letter of the name *Khusrau* on the obverse. All these three drachmes are of the mint-city of Merv but it is important to note that none of them are from the same dies.

Coins are known to have issued from this important mint in no less than 78 different years. Its monogram appears first under Yezdegerd II (438-457) and again under Firoz I in 453 and 462 and Jamasp in 498. It showed its greatest activity from 515 to 613 and struck for the last time under the Sasanians in 621 the last year of Yezdegerd III. All authorities agree in identifying the mint-monogram MR with Merv.

Description of the Second Drachme

Metal.—Silver Diameter—1 1" Weight—58 grains

Obverse—Bust of king to right wearing a crown surmounted by a crescent with the globe standing in it. The hair is brought back and arranged in curls. Over each shoulder a crescent and a fillet floating. In the field in front of the crown a crescent and star and behind it a star. On the margin to the left and right and at the base of the piece a crescent. Grenetis.

Legend—(Kh)u(sru) in front of the face.

Reverse—The holy *pyreum* on an altar having a personage on each side facing front with one hand on a pole and the other on a sword. To the left of the *pyreum* a star and to the right a crescent. Grenetis.

Legend—To the left *Chēhār*(r) four and to the right the mint monogram MR Merv.



FURDOONJEE D J PARUCK

24th March, 1917

188. A CORRECTION NOTE

In my article No. 174 on A Gold Coin of the Sassanid King Shāpūr the Great, published in the Numismatic Supplement No XXVIII, some of the statements need adjusting in the light of the latest research and I beg leave to correct them.

The statement "On the death of Hormazd II (310 A C), his natural heir was set aside by the nobles" requires correction. Hormazd II was succeeded early in 310 A C by his son Ādharnarseh, who was soon deposed and probably slain, ostensibly for his cruelty. The nobles now held the reins of power, and having blinded one brother of the fallen king and imprisoned another (Hormazd), crowned Shapūr II, the new born (or unborn) son of Queen Ifrā-Hormazd (310 A C). This queen was a Jewess.

The transliteration and translation of the inscription A of Tāq-i Bostan were given after Mordtmann (Z D M G, 1880, p. 66) and Drouin (Les legendes des monnaies sassanides, p. 27), but from West (see Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie vol II, p. 77 sq., where are given the transliteration and translation of the opening lines of some of the rock inscriptions), the greatest acknowledged authority on Pahlavī, I find that they should be corrected as follows —

Mazdayasn vōhīā Shahpuhrī mallān mallā Airān va-An-irān minō chitrī min yazdān bareh Mazdayasn vōhīā Auharmazdī
... . napī vōhīā Narsehī mallān mallā, "Mazda worshipping excellent Shāpūr, king of the kings of Eran and non-Erān, of spiritual origin from the sacred beings son of Mazda-worshipping excellent Hormazd. , grandson of excellent Narses, king of the kings"

I inadvertently omitted the mention by Mordtmann (Z D M G, 1880, p. 64, no 263) of a gold coin of Shapūr II similar to mine, but with a slight difference in that instead of a succession of dots, it bears a succession of small semicircles on the obverse.

To the 23 known gold coins of this king should be added

two published in 1883 by De Markoff in his Catalogue of Sassanid coins (p 65 no 12 and p 66 no 33)

I will take this opportunity to indicate a slip in my critical note No 153 in the same supplement on the drachme of Bistam. The epithet *firōch* on the obverse of the coins of Bistam and Kobad II is written *firōchu* and not *firōhi*. The final *u* is redundant as we find it also in the names *Kavāti* and *Bōrānu* on the obverse of the coins of Kobad II and Boran respectively. (For further comment on this redundant *u* see my article No 173 on ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ in the same supplement.)

In order to facilitate the comparison of the mint monograms *nishch* and *rām* mentioned in my note No 170 on the drachme of Queen Boran in the same supplement I give these facsimiles below. Apparently they were overlooked by an error in the press and as they are of some importance I now repeat them.

 *nishch*

 *Ram*

FURDOONJEE D J PARUCK

23rd May 1917

189 THE RARE SASANIAN MINT KVI BBA OR KVN BBA

During the reign of Bahram IV Kirmanshah (388-399 A.C.) son of Shapur II Zolaktaf (310-370 A.C.) there appeared on the reverse of his coins the mint monogram KVI BBA or KVN BBA which is not met with on the coins of any of the other Sassanian monarchs. The mint monogram is composed of a few Pahlavi letters forming the commencement of the name of a place where the coin was struck. Two drachmes are in the Bartholomaei collection (pl. V figs 12 and 13) four are in the cabinet of Mordtmann (Z.D.M.G. 1884 p 53 no 106 1880 p 89 no 300) and this one of mine makes a total of seven drachmes known of this king issued from this rare mint¹.

Mordtmann translates it by the royal residence that is to say Ctesiphon in interpretation with which Drouin (*Les legendes des monnaies sassanides* 1898 p 30) seems to concur. De Morgan (*Revue Numismatique* 1913 p 181) on the authority of Haug (*An Old Pahlavi Pazand Glossary* 1870 p 92)

¹ In his earlier publication Mordtmann was unable to read the first part of the mint monogram though the reproduction (pl. II no. 14) is quite clear.

right or left or on both sides of the fire on the altar and continued to appear in the same manner on those of his successors Yezdegerd I (399-420) and Bahram V (420-438). It was during the reign of Yezdegerd II (438-457) that the monogram passed into the field on the right and this usage became definite till the end of the dynasty and was subsequently copied on the Arab drachmes.

It is curious to note that another mint monogram BBA which is the second part of the mint monogram under discussion first appeared during the reign of the same king on the reverse of his coins and then on those of his successors till Firoz I (459-484). It is not met with on the coins of Balash (484-488), but it reappears in the first reign (488-497) of Kobad I. It is found during the days of Jamasp (497-499) in 497 and 498 then it disappeared till the sixth year (536) of Khusrau I (531-579) and again appeared during the same reign in 557 only to vanish again. It was not till 591 at the commencement of the reign of Khusrau II (590-628) that the activity of this mint manifests itself continuously up to 636 because we find this monogram on the drachmes of all the years. It is found for the last time in 651 the year of the death of Yezdegerd III (632-651) the last monarch of the Sasanian dynasty.

Thomas (J R A S, 1850 p. 327) supporting himself on the fact that the mint monogram BBA figures on the drachmes of Schim and of his envoy Abdullah Azim is tempted to believe that it indicates a town of Khorasan perhaps Nishapur. Later on he (J R A S, 1852 p. 390 sq.) considers that the name responds simply to a suburb of Merv. Mordtmann (Z D M G, 1854 p. 12) after some hesitation proposes مدائن Madain or قسطنطين Ctesiphon, and again he (Z D M G, 1865 p. 396) reconciles it with باب Al Bab the town of Tabaristan or Behān after Thomas a district of Merv. Finally he (Z D M G, 1879 p. 114 sq. no. 2) believes that it indicates 'the Capital the Residence'.

Perhaps BBA and KVI BBA or KVN BBA were the honorific epithets applied for the most part to Ērīn in cities possessing an *انوار* royal palace, but Ctesiphon was not the only place thus honoured. According to De Morgan we cannot take for granted the hypothesis that these were the honorific epithets of a particular city because in 67 A H the Arabs have inscribed on their drachmes after the Sasanian type the mint monogram BBA 'the gate'. This was about forty years after the death of the last Sasanian king and the Khalifs would certainly not have recalled the old regime if BBA had signified the Persian Gate. De Morgan's argument that the Khalifs would not have recalled the old regime does not seem to me to be strong because the drachmes are after the Sasanian type having on the reverse the fire altar albeit contrary to their newly founded religion.

میر احمد ولد صاحب خان را بطلب میر احمد خان و موجداری
نصیر آباد و عیدہ نواب حاندیس مرحوم صاحبند *

Translation

Account of an event which occurred in the 27th regnal year of *Sahib Qum-rani* (*Shah Jahan*) coinciding with the year 1063 A H

Mir Ahmad son of *Siyadat Khan* was honoured with the title of Mir Ahmad Khan and entrusted with the Faujdari of Nasirabad and other places in *Khandesh*

During the reign of Aurangzeb the city of Nasirabad appears to have retained its importance and remained attached to the Province of *Khandesh* as will appear from the following quotation from *Masir ul umra* by Nawab Samsam ud-daulah vol I page 31 —

و بدر خلل کاکر حسب العالی سلطان اورنگ رب بہادر موجداری
و بدول داری نصیر آباد و عیدہ نواب حاندیس سر بلند گردید *

Translation

And subsequently Jalal Kaker was appointed to be the Faujdar and Tuguldar of Nasirabad etc in the Province of *Khandesh* under the orders of Sultan Aurangzeb Bahadur

M A SUBOOR

NOTE — The coin is in bad preservation and it is somewhat doubtful whether the mint name is sufficiently clear to warrant the acceptance of an addition to the list of mint towns of Aurangzeb. The type is new but the reading which obviously suggests itself is *Nusratabad* and there seems hardly room for the ی between the عی and the ر. *Nusratabad* is a known mint and Mr Whitehead published a coin struck at that place in the year 1114-47 though of a different type [P M C No 194b]

H NEVILL



II

191 THE LAKHNAU MINT ON A GOLD COIN OF AURANGZEB

Mint —Lakhnau.

Metal —Gold

Size —18.6 mm , 75 in , round

Weight —10.96 grms = 169 grains.

Date —1052 14

Provenance unknown

<i>Obv</i>	<i>Rev</i>
عالم گز	ماوس
نورنگ ب	صنعت
شاه	۱۴
رد چو مهر صدر	سنه خلوس
که	ب
۱۰۸۲	صمر لکهنؤ
در حلی	

So far the only known gold coin of the Lakhnau mint belongs to the reign of Shah Jahan. It was described by Mr H. Nelson Wright on page 246 of the Numismatic Supplement No XXV

I have now discovered in the collection of the Central Museum Nagpur a gold piece of Aurangzeb's reign minted at Lakhnau and am accordingly glad to publish this latest addition to the list of gold coins of that mint

M. A. SUBOOR.



192 A RARE TYPE OF DRACHME OF SHAPÜR II

While the Sassanian coins follow more or less fixed types they exhibit a pronounced variety of legends the study of which is a matter of continual interest. The coins of Shapur II (310-379) apart from sub-varieties are of three main types. In the first of these we have the fire-altar with two attendants, in the second we see the altar similarly attended but with the addition of the *prohar* issuing from the fire and in the third the fire-altar is similar to that depicted on the coins of Ardashir I

having no attendant personages and filling almost the whole field. The last type of which coins are known in gold silver and copper is considered to be very rare to it belong the gold piece described in the Numismatic Supplement No XXVIII, article no 174 and the drachme which is the subject of this article.

The main legend on the reverse of the coins of Shapur II is *Vura* & *Shahpuhr*. The fire of Shapur. Though there are some specimens known of the early kings on the reverse of which the Aramaic word *nura* is replaced by its equivalent *atur* the true Avestic word for designating fire I have not discovered any recorded instance of a coin of Shapur II on which the word *atur* is so found. From Shapur III (383-388) the word *nura* is finally replaced by its equivalent *atur* on the reverse of the coins.

The drachme described below has on the reverse the legend *atur* & *Shahpuhr*. Unfortunately the word *atur* is damaged but the first two letters are very distinct and the rest are traceable without difficulty. On the strength of this reading I have been able to read on the reverse of a similar drachme of this king in the Bartholomaei collection (pl VII fig 7) the legend *atur* & *Shahpuhr*. This drachme was described by Mordtmann (Z D M G 1880 p 65 no 265) but he was unable to read the legend on the reverse beyond the name of the king. He pronounced the legend on the obverse to be illegible a remark which must apply unfortunately to my specimen as well. The meaning of both reverse legends is the same 'The fire of Shapur'. To express the possessive use has been made of the letter *z*; the Persian *zāfat* in one case while in the other we have the Semitic particle *z* which is often employed in Sasanian Pahlavi in the same sense. The relative *z* is here seen approximating in use to the Persian *zāfat* of which possibly it was the origin. But the letter *z* preceding the word *z* is redundant being the vowel so frequently found at the end of Pahlavi words as may be noticed at the end of the name of the king *Shahpuhr*.

In connection with this legend I take the opportunity to rectify another reading of Mordtmann. He (op cit p 38 no 128) read on the reverse of a drachme of Bahram II (276-293) in this cabinet the words *Varahran* *atur* and (op cit p 48, no 160) on the reverse of a drachme of Hormazd II (303-310) in the Bartholomaei collection (pl VI fig 5) *Ohrmazd* *atur*. Hormazd the fire worshipper. This reading *atur* is very doubtful for we have only to examine the illustration of the Bartholomaei specimen to see that the legend might easily be read *atur* & *aharmazd* (*dā*). The fire of Hormazd. The fifth letter is unquestionably *z* and not *n* as may be proved by comparing these letters in the words *nura* *z* found on the reverse of the coins on the same plate and is for the letters

(1) *On the Bijāpur Rupees of 1091 A H (art no 167 A S XXVII)*

The rupees of Aurangzeb struck at Bijapūr corroborate the evidence adduced by Mr Hodivali in two ways. The early issues of 1091 23 and 1091 24 (I know of none of the immediately succeeding years) have the mint name without epithet. The later rupees the earliest date for which as far as I know is the 31st year (no 1637 in P M C on which the *hijri* date is missing) have the epithet *Daru z zafar* the Seat of Victory. Further the earliest type of Bijapūr rupee of 1091 23 of which there is a specimen in the Lucknow Museum as well as a half rupee I believe in the collection of Mr H N Wright has the very curious reading محاروس for حاروس. This was probably a slip on the part of the Bijapūr die cutter as the rupees of 1091 24 have the ordinary حاروس.

(2) *Rupees of the Gulkanda Mint (art no 168 A S XXVII)*

I do not think that a study of the Gulkanda coins of Shah Jahan helps greatly to settle the date nor do I think much weight can be attached to the supposed date on the I V specimen for it might just as well be an attempt to reproduce an ornament. The following facts and conjectures are derivable —

- (1) Their style suggests an early date
- (2) From the style also it is obvious that no coins of the Imperial pattern have come to light as yet
- (3) The small numbers extant suggest a limited issue

I think it at least possible that the coin legend engraved and sent from the Court may have been on a coin of another mint.

In connection with the Gulkanda mint it may be interesting to notice the issues of Aurangzeb between the years 1069 1 and 1098 31. One or two mohurs are known but rupees are very common and all until 1098 are of very crude design.

The first issue of 1069 ahd has a peculiar obverse

ادساء عاروس
مہادر عالم گدر
۱۰۶۹
رب
محمد اورنگ

The reverse is of the ordinary design with the mint name at the top.

The next date known to me is 1071-4. This has the coin

mon obverse type of Aurangzeb with the date to left of *حان* the reverse is of the ordinary type with the mint name at the bottom

The *hijri* date 1071 is now continued on the obverse till 1071-7, when it is replaced by 1076, which continues certainly to the 23rd year. On coins from the 24th to the 30th year the *hijri* date is missing at least I have never come across a coin in which it could be read

In 1098 31R the year of Aurangzeb's conquest, rupees and mohurs of quite a different style were struck. Both metals are represented in the British Museum, nos 712 and 778. They were obviously struck by Imperial die-cutters, and are some of the finest examples of his coinage. They follow the type of the preceding coins except that the date is in the top line. The mint was then closed and moved to Hyderabad, since we find the earliest coins of the latter mint issuing in the following year 1099 (cf P M C no 1680)

Synopsis of Coins of the Gulkanda Mint

A and *R* of similar design. examples of both known of all types. No *Æ* known

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Shah Jahān I	—	Early type Kalima in 3 lines with mint below on obverse. Issued in 1045 ? by Abd ullah Qutb Shah
Aurangzeb	(1) 1069-ahd	Mint name at top of reverse <i>hijri</i> date to left of <i>حان</i> on obverse. A Qutb Shahi issue
	(2) 1071 4R—1071 7R	But mint-name in bottom line of reverse
	(3) 1076-8R—1076-23R	"
	(4) —24R—30R	"
	(5) 1098—31R	No <i>hijri</i> date yet deciphered Imperial issue. Same type as above but <i>hijri</i> date in top line of obverse
	1099 A R.	Mint removed to Hyderabad (Dārū l-Jihād)

(3) The Srīnagar Mint (art no 177, N S XXVIII)

Mr Hodivala has substantiated what I and most Indian numismatists have held as most probable for a considerable time. Mr Whitehead for instance in his Catalogue of the

† In the B M there is a $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee of—15R (no 749) and a $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee of 1076-21 (no 755)

Lahore Mughal Coins treats the Srinagar coins under Kashmir although he admits an alternative locality (P M C LCVI) It is notorious that the provenance of coins as evidence of locality is in general unsatisfactory but I think the following facts do help to support Mr Hodivala's contention. I have five times visited the Srinagar (Kashmir) bazaar and each time I have acquired specimens of Akbar's Srinagar dams associated usually with Muhammad's fulus of Kashmir The only other place where I have obtained these dams which are not common is Rawalpindi

(4) *The Azamnagar Mint* (art no 179 N S XXVIII)

The coins of four Emperors of this mint have been published (1) Aurangzeb N S XV § 89 no 10 (Shah Alam Bahadur N S XXII § 130 no 1 (3) Farrukhsiyar N S XXII § 130 no 3 and N S XIV § 84 fig II (4) Muhammad Shah P M C no 2363

Although three of these are assigned by Mr Whitehead in his Mint List (including the Supplement) to Azamnagar and two to Azamnagar Gokulgarh (the B M specimen no 936 of Farrukhsiyar is assigned to the former and that of Dr Taylor to the latter) I think that in every case the second name occurs in the last line whether visible on the particular coin or not

Mr Hodivala's reading of Gokak for the Kam Baksh coin (N S XIV pl 86 Fig II) formerly read as Gokulgarh is further confirmed by the duplicate specimen in the Lucknow Museum which I have examined

The question now remains whether the word in the last line of the Azamnagar coins can also read Gokak On the Aurangzeb coin the word is undecipherable I think the Farrukhsiyar coins might very reasonably give this reading though in the specimen reproduced in my article in N S XXII the ك seems to be blundered The Shah Alam Bahadur coin presents a serious difficulty but a comparison between this and the coin of Muhammad in the Lahore Museum Catalogue shows somewhat similar lettering and in the former it is possible that the up stroke of the first Kaf may have become lost in the long ى of ى I think therefore that Gokak is a very probable reading for the Azamnagar coins

C J BROWN

9 NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No XXXI.

Note—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 267 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1918

194 THE MANDU GOLD COULET

I crave permission to say a few words in reference to the meaning of the metrical legend inscribed on the gold Muhr issued from the Mundū Mint in the twelfth year of the reign of Jahangir. The Muhr was first published by Mr Rodgers in the paper on the Couplets or *Baits* on the Coins of Shah Nuruddin Jahāngir which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1888. That admirable builder up of such verses arranged the words thus —

سکند مددور نام جهانگرد—و شاه

بربود دهن نور جهانی چو مهر و ماه

and translated them as under —

May the Coin of Mandū through the name of Jahangir give light to the world like the sun and the moon (*loc cit* 23). Mr Rodgers was not sure that he had been able to hit upon the true order of the words and he has said so. Mr Whitehead has taken a line of his own. He has reversed the order of the lines and thinks they would read better thus —

نور جهانی دهد بر تو چو مهر و ماه

سکند مددور نام جهانگرد—و شاه

(P M C No 918)

His rendering also differs considerably from his predecessor's and is as follows —

'With light of the world gave (sic) rays like the sun and moon

Coin of Mandu by the name of Jahangir Shah

It must be obvious to every one having even a moderate acquaintance with Persian that Rodgers' version is easily intelligible but that it possesses that merit only on account of the translator having slurred over the difficulty of the phrase نور جهانی. It must be said that Mr Whitehead has adhered much more faithfully to his text but I am afraid that that fidelity has been purchased somewhat dearly at the expense of sense and meaning.

I must confess my own incapacity to understand how any coin "can give rays with light of the world." At the same time I must say that repeated attempts to construe the verse differently ended only in bringing home to my mind the conviction that so long as نورجہاں was taken in the usual sense it was impossible to make the lines yield anything like a rational statement.

It may be therefore permissible to propose for the consideration of those who take any interest in these somewhat different specimens of Persian versification a new interpretation of the distich which has recently occurred to me. It is based on the following passage from the *Tuḥṣi-i-Jahāngīrī* which I quote from the excellent version made by Mr. Alexander Rogers and revised and edited by Mr. Beveridge.

Speaking of the mandates on various subjects which he took care to issue soon after his accession the Imperial autobiographer informs us —

At a propitious hour I ordered that they should come gold and silver of different weights. To each coin I gave a separate name: viz. to the Muhr of 100 tola that of *Nur-shāh*, to that of 50 tola that of *Nur sulṭān*, to that of 20 tola *Nur-daulat*, to that of 10 tola *Nur-karām*, to that of 5 tola *Nur Muhr* and to that of 1 tola *Nur-jahān*. The half of this I called *Nurān* and the quarter *Rawāḡi*. *Op cit* pp 10 11.

It seems to me that the word *Nur-jahān* is used in the couplet in this peculiar sense and must be understood as such. I would therefore translate the *Bait* thus —

The stamp on the coin of Mandu gives through the name of Jahangir Shāh lustre like the Sun and Moon to the *Nur-jahān* (i.e. the one tola gold muhr.)

If this interpretation is correct the Mandu gold piece must command additional interest on account of being one of that small number of Mughal issues which bear on their faces the official or popular designation borne by them. The rarity of any coins bearing the word نورجہاں or نورجہاں or نورجہاں is well known and the fact that the poet has contrived to embody in the *Bait* itself the denominational epithet by which the Muhr of this particular weight was officially known is deserving of notice.

It may not be perhaps superfluous to add that this name *Nur-jahān* given to the one tola Muhr in the first year of Jahangir's reign can have had nothing whatever to do with the title afterwards borne by the all-powerful inmate of the Imperial harem. That beautiful lady was at the time still the wife of Sher Afgan. She was married to the Emperor only in the 6th regnal year and it was not till the eleventh that from being

merely the Light of the Harem (Nur Mahal) she was exalted to the dignity of 'Light of the World' (*Tuzuk* I 319) Indeed, all these fanciful epithets appear to have been intended as compliments to the Emperor himself and to have had reference to the *laqab* of *Nuru d din* which he had adopted on his accession.

It may be likewise noted that 100 50 and 20 Muhr pieces had been issued by Akbar also but the names given to them by that monarch were all of Hindi or Sanscrit origin e.g. *Shansah*, *Rahas* and *Bimsat* (*Blochmann Din* I pp 27 29) Ten muhr and Five muhr pieces also are mentioned by Abul Fazi but their names are for some reason omitted Jahangir appears to have lost no time in consigning to oblivion the neologisms of his father and introducing his own Like some other Oriental princes he seems to have been frantically solicitous to make a name by paltry or fanciful changes in style nomenclature and other matters of no importance.

Junāgadh

S H HODIVATA

15th October 1916

195 THE KATAK RUPEES OF AHMAD SHAH

One of the hitherto unsolved puzzles of Mughal Numismatics is connected with some rupees which were struck at Katak in the name of the Emperor Ahmad Shah So many as seventeen specimens are registered in the Indian Museum Catalogue and the Collection in the capital of the Panjab possesses seven This strange series of coins is distinguished by certain figures or symbols over the word *سند* on the reverse of which Mr Nelson Wright candidly declares that he is unable to say to what they refer (*IMC* p lvm) As for Mr Whitehead he contents himself with reiterating Mr Wright's suggestion that they are of Maratha origin and were struck during the period in which Orissa was a Maratha province (*PMC* p xciv) It is common knowledge that during the years 1742-1751 A.C. Bengal Bihar and Orissa were so incessantly invaded and plundered by the hordes of Raghuj Bhonslay and the Subahdar Alivardi Khan reduced to such straits that he ceded to them Orissa in consideration of their sparing the rest of his territories (1105 A.H. 1751 A.C.) It is true that for some time afterwards the ostensible governor continued to be a nominee of the Muhammadan Viceroy but even that semblance of Musalman authority was done away with and the province became and remained an integral part of the dominions of the Bhonslay Rajas of Nagpur until 1803 A.C. (1218 A.H.) I venture to suggest that the problem of these figures symbols or Persian numerals is by no means so formidable as it appears and that the cryptic numbers on all the extant specimens with a very few exceptions to

which I shall presently advert admit of a simple explanation. Of the seventeen specimens in the Indian Museum four contain only a mark like the figure 6 and one or both of M m 73 74 (I M C). The remaining thirteen have the following Persian numerals inscribed over the word *ash* on the reverse —

۲۱۱ (No 2118) ۲۱۲ (No 2119) ۷ (No 2124)

۱۲ (No 2125 6) ۲۱ (No 2127) ۶۸ (No 2128)

۶۹ (No 2129) ۷۶ (No 2130) ۸۸ (No 2131)

۹۶ (No 2132), ۱۱۹ (No 2133) ۱۲ (No 2134)

Of the seven coins catalogued by Mr Whitehead three (Nos 2703 5) have no figures but only a M exactly like that on the corresponding issues in the Indian Museum while four have ۷ ۶ ۱۲ and ۲۱ (Nos 2699 2702)

My submission is that these apparently incomprehensible and unmeaning numerals stand for those years of the Hijra in which the coins were struck and that by ۲۱۱ ۷ ۱۲ ۶۸ ۶۹ ۷۶ ۸۸ ۹۶ ۱۱۹ and ۱۲ we are to understand (1)211 (120)7 (12)12 (11)68 (11)69 (11)74 (11)88 (11)96 119A and (12)12 of the *Fry* of the Flight. Similarly the symbols on P M C 2699 2701 are meant for (120)2 (120)7 and (12)12 A H. The only issues which do not at once lend themselves to this simple solution are I M C Nos 2119 and 2127 and P M C No 2702 the first of which has the figure ۲۱۲ and the last two a ۲۱. Now (1)312 A H is absolutely unthinkable under the circumstances and (12)21 A H is also inadmissible as the Maratha domination terminated in 1803 A C or 1218 A H. I make bold to suggest that the difficulty is only apparent and that in these cases the numbers were either deliberately or by mistake impressed from right to left instead of as usual from left to right. We know that the inversion of the customary way of inscribing Persian numerals was one of the numerous innovations of Tippu Sultan and it is just possible that the same notion may have struck the fancy of some half-educated Maratha Governor or Mint master. It seems to me much more probable however that these three issues are merely mis-stamps which owe their existence to the carelessness or ignorance of the artificers employed. The Marathās rarely displayed any extraordinary solicitude in regard either to the intrinsic value or to the artistic or even correct execution of their numerous mintage. The revenue from the Mint was as a rule farmed out to the local goldsmiths and buyers (*Rānāde Currencies and Mints under Marāṭha Rule B B R A S Journal 1899 pp 195 198*) and it was obviously the interest of the latter to do it on the cheap irrespective of any considerations as to the purity of the metal the beauty of the design or the competence of the workman.

This explanation of the figures on these puzzling issues of the Katak mint receives from one of their own number a support which one could have scarcely looked for. This is I M C No 2131, which has inscribed over the ॥ on the reverse the number ॥ but the figure 11 appears at the same time under the word. It is perhaps permissible to say that this all but demonstrates the correctness of the above theory which turns merely on the conjectural filling up of the hundreds figures as in this particular instance has luckily been done on the coin itself. Any lingering doubt on that head must be also removed by an inspection of No 2133 on which the thousand hundred and tens are plainly legible (111x) the unit figure only being deficient.

I have said that these rupees were struck by the Bhonslay Rajas of Nagpūr. This is borne out by the ornament or Mint mark (No 73 I M C No 69 P M C) which appears on several of them over the و or the س of حلوس (Nos 2120 22 I M C Nos 2703 5 P M C). This ornament is the *Jari patkā* or banner of cloth of gold which was always carried before the Bhonslay rulers of Nagpūr in honour of their being hereditary *Senā Sahib Subehs* of the Maratha state and which appears to have been sent as a mark of official recognition to every occupant of the throne of Nagpūr immediately after his accession. This Juree Putka says Grant Duff was first used by Sontajee Ghorepuray having been confided to his charge by Raja Ram (*History of the Marathas* Bombay Reprint 1873 p 697). In another place the same authority informs us that Sontajee now the oldest representative of the Kapsee family besides the rank of Senaputtee was further dignified with some additions to his hereditary titles and styled *Hindoo Rao Mumukut Mudar*. He was also intrusted with a new standard called the *Juree Putka* or golden pennon and in imitation of the imperial officers of the highest rank he was authorized to beat the *nobat* or large drum and assume various other insignia (*Ibid* p 164).

To this office of Sena Sahib Subeh Raghuji Bhonslay of Barar was appointed in 1734 A C on the disgrace and imprisonment of his cousin Kanhoji (*ibid* p 229) and the dignity carried with it the proud privilege of having the *Jari Patkā* carried before the holder (*ib* p 230). This stands out clearly from another passage also in which we are told that when on the death of Janoji Bhonslay in 1773 A C there was a contest for the regency between his brothers Moodajee and Saba-jee the former's party was much discouraged by the defection of a considerable number of the choice troops who carried with them the *Juree Putka* of the Sena Sahib Subeh. Mudaji Bhonslay however attacked his brother and defeated him in spite of that evil presage (*Ibid* p 360). Lastly we learn

from the same source that on the eve of the outbreak of those hostilities which terminated in the deposition of Āppa Sahib, the Rajā of Nagpūr, he sent to inform Mr Jenkins that a Khillut had arrived for him from the Peishwa, who had also sent him the *Juree Putka* and conferred on him the title of Senaputtee that he intended to go in state to his camp to receive those honours next day and invited the resident to be present at the ceremony — p 662 (1817 A C) See also H H Wilson's *Continuation of Mill's History of India*, Ed 1858 VIII, 186

Prinsep appears to have been aware that this image of a banner or pennon was the badge of the Rajas of Nagpūr, for he says in explanation of No 88 of the Plate (III) illustrating the symbols on Indian coins Patak flag or standard of Siva Sagar rupee (pl 11) Nagpoor (*Useful Tables* ed 1834 p 56) The shape of the ornament on the Sagar coins (P.M.C. 3010 I) is somewhat different but there can be little doubt that it also is a flag, as indeed Mr Whitehead declares it to be Sagar (or Saugor) was at this time held by the descendants of Govind Rao Pandit to whom it had been given by the Peishwa after the latter's death during the disastrous campaign of Pānpat (*Imp Ga.* XXII 138, Mill and Wilson VIII, 247 Grant Duff *op cit* 315) The object of having banners of two different shapes was probably to make it easy to distinguish between two similar types of rupees circulating in the same province

S H HODIVALA

196 NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS ABOUT SOME UNASSIGNED OR DOUBTFUL MUḠHAL MINTS

(1) AJAYUR (?) [RAJAPŪR]

In his valuable monograph on the Mint towns of the MuḠhal Emperors Mr Whitehead has declined to make room for the Doubtful Mints of Ajayur Kharpur Sirsa and Gangpur on the ground that they have been attempts to interpret difficulties but are too uncertain to merit permanent record (p 423) Mr Whitehead's hesitation is certainly commendable but I trust I may not be denied absoluton for making another effort to deliver the first of this quartette of Mint names from the numismatic purgatory

It goes without saying that no town of the name of Ajayur is now known and Mr Lane Poole's endeavour to identify it with Ajavapur the old name of Bakror—itself a place of no note—is admittedly the conduct of a forlorn hope Fortunately the coin itself has been figured on Plate XXV of the B.M.C., and we are not as in some other instances left without the means of judging for ourselves It is also a matter for congratulation that such of the letters as appear on the disc are by no means wanting in definition or clearness Indeed

there can be no question whatever as to the two 'Mils,' the 'Jim,' the 'Wāv' or the 'Ré.' We are left in doubt only about the initial letter, and the antecedent of the 'Wāv' I beg to offer the suggestion that the first letter of the name has been cut off on account of the die having been larger than the flan, and that the antecedent of the 'Wāv' has for the same reason lost its third inferior dot. In other words, I submit that the name is probably Rājāpūr. Now there are at least seven places of that name in the Post Office Guide, but the only two of any note are those mentioned in the Imperial Gazetteer, viz a town in the Mau Tahsil of Bindā District United Provinces which is said to have been the birth place of or been founded by, the famous poet Tulsidās. But I cannot find any reference to it in any historical work and it does not appear to have possessed any political importance. The other Rājāpūr is "the headquarters of the Tāluqā of the same name in Ratnāgiri District, Bombay and situated in 16° 34' N. and 73° 31' E at the head of a tidal creek 30 miles south by east of Ratnāgiri town and about 15 miles from the sea. Rājāpūr is the oldest looking and best-preserved town in the Konkan.

The old English factory gives the town a special interest. At the time of the first Muhammadan conquest (1312) Rājāpūr was the chief town of the district. In 1660-1 and again in 1670 Shivaji plundered the town sacking the English factory. In 1713 Rājāpūr was handed over to Āngriā. In 1756, it was taken by the Peshwā from Āngriā and in 1818 it came into British possession along with the rest of the Peshwa's dominions" (*Imp Gaz* XXI 66-7).

We know, thanks to Dr Taylor that Aurangzeb had a mint in this town which he renamed Islāmbandār (J A S B 1912 p 434). It would appear that this new fangled designation was, like several others consigned to oblivion after Aurangzeb's death though the mint continued to be maintained for meeting the demand for currency in a busy port down to 1148 A H, the eighteenth year of the reign of Muhammad Shāh to which the coin belongs.¹

The College, Junāgadh
5th March 1917

S H HODIVALA

P S—I understand that Mr F D J Paruck of Bombay has arrived at the same conclusion as to the reading of this mint-name. Rājāpūr is twice mentioned by Manucci (Irvine, *Storia del Mogor* II 263, 279) and on both occasions the French traders residing there are expressly referred to. Mr Irvine has identified the place with Dhunda [Dinda] Rājāpūr (Lat 18°

¹ Tavernier says "The King of Bijāpur has three good ports in his kingdom, these are Rajapur, Dabhol, and Kareputtun." (*Travels*, ed Ball I, 181 2)

18 Long 73° 3') close to Jinjira (*Op cit* II 263 note). I venture to think that this identification is untenable. The name of the place near Jinjira is generally written دندہ دھپری by the historians (Khāfi Khān II 223 225 226 228) and there is no evidence of a French factory having ever existed there. On the other hand we know that the Rājpur in Ratnagiri district had an English factory in 1660-1 A.C. and that the French established another in the same place in 1670, the founder being Bourcau Deslandes [*Irvine Op cit* I lxxvi, IV 415].

S H H

(II) FATHABAD DHARUR

The mint name مجمع دھارور occurs on some rupees of Jahandar Shah and Farrukhsiyar which were first published in Num. Supp. VIII (p. 230) and II (p. 241) respectively by Mr. Nelson Wright. At p. 436 of his mint-list Mr. Whitehead's transliteration of the name is Fathabād Dhārur but in the *Notes on a few Points of Interest in Connection with the Mint towns* which are prefixed to that exceedingly useful publication he informs us that 'the full name of Fathabād mint is Fathabād Dharūr (Dharwar)'. JASB 1912 p. 436.

Mr. Whitehead's object in adding the alternative form in the parenthesis was perhaps to make it clear that دھارور can be read *Dhārur*, as well as *Dharwar* as the letter و is pronounced as a vowel or as a consonant. The phonetic resemblance between this other form and Dhārwar is so close that one is naturally left in doubt as to their not being one and the same. The matter is further complicated by the fact that there are as a glance at the Index of the *Imperial Gazetteer Atlas* will show two places of the name of *Dharur* in the territories of the Nizām of Hyderabad. Fortunately it is possible to resolve all these doubts as to the real situation of our مجمع دھارور with the assistance of the Persian histories.

The fort of Dharur is frequently mentioned in Ferishta's annals of the Deccan (*Briggs Rise of the Momedan Power in India* Calcutta Reprint 1910 Vol. III pp. 132 3 253 331 332 427) as well as in the Mughal chronicles. It appears to have been first built by a Bijapur general of the name of Kamal Khishvar Khān in 975 A.H. or 1561 A.D. (*Briggs Op cit*, III 132) and was besieged and taken by Azam Khān in the fourth year of the reign of Shah Jahan 1040 A.H. (*Badshāhnama* Bibl. Ind. Text Vol. I Pt. 1 pp. 333 343 Elliot and Dowson VII 20) from the Nizām Shahis into whose hands it appears to have fallen very soon after its erection (*Briggs Op cit* III 253). It was after its conquest by the Mughals that it got the name of شهر آفتاب (City of Victory) and thus مجمع was evidently given to

it in memory of that triumph (*Ma'āşiru l-Umarā*, I 177, l 5) It is also certain that Dharūr was called Fathābād in the tenth year of Shāh Jahān, for we read in the contemporary chronicle that Nūr Muḥammad 'Arab was appointed Qil'adār of قلع آباد معروف ددهارور, i.e. Fathābād, [otherwise] known (معروف) as Dhārūr (*Bādshāhnāma*, I, II 278, l 8) in 1046 A H This Fathābād Dhārūr is explicitly said to have been in the neighbourhood of Bir [Bhīr, 18° 30' N, 75° 46' E] and also of Pithri [19° 15' N, 76° 27' E] (*Bādshāhnāma*, I 1 321-2) It was reached by crossing the pass (كول) of Anjan-dudh, [Ajanta?] (*ibid*, I 1, 339) We are further told that it was in the vicinity of Ambā-Jogāi [18° 41' N, 76° 24' E] (*ibid*, I, 1 329, that the Qasbah of ماندرور was ten koss distant from it (*ibid* I 1 344), and that it was only twelve koss away from the river مندرور, i.e. the Manjra (*Ibid*, I 1, 331, Elliot and Dowson VII, 16 and note, see also '*Ālamiḡir-nāma*, Bibl Ind Text 1018) According to the *Ma'āşiru l-Umarā* Dhārūr, Bir Jālnāpūr Pattan [Mungī pattan] Juner, Sangamner Ahmadnagar and Daulatābād were all included in the Balighat (Bibl Ind Text I 745) Khān Jahan Barhā reached Dharūr from the side of Bir [بر سمت پير] in the

9th year of Shāh Jahān (*Ibid* I 762) Khān Zamān was made Qil'adār of Fathābād-Dhārūr in the 23rd year of the same reign on the death of 'Arab Khān (*ibid*, I, 787) The appointments of three other governors of the fort are recorded *along with its double name*, (I, 197, II, 795, III 116), which occurs in two other places also (II 710, III 379)

It is clear that very little of what is predicated in the above passages is applicable to Dhārwar Its proximity to Bhīr, and Pathri, its situation in the vicinity of Ambā-Jogai and the pass of Anjan dudh and its short distance from the River Manjra all place Dharwar absolutely out of court, and establish the identity of the mint town with the Dhārūr in the Bhīr District Besides it must be remembered that Fathābād Dhārūr is here repeatedly said to have been included in the dominions of Shāh Jahān and the names of at least two Qil'adārs of the *Shāh Jahān* period are recorded whereas Dhārwar did not come into the possession of the Mughals until after the conquest of Bijāpūr by Aurangzeb in 1086 A C (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol XXII, 409-410, and 707) It follows that Fathābād Dhārūr of which the situation is described as above in the chronicle of 'Abdul Hamid Lahori, which was finished before Aurangzeb's accession to the throne, cannot be Dhārwar at all

As for the other Dhārūr in the Gulbarga district, a glance at the map of Haidarābād State in the Imperial Gazetteer Atlas will show that it is not in the neighbourhood either of Bhīr, or

of Pathri or of Ambajogai or the river Manjra. We may therefore take it as reasonably certain that the Dharūr of the coins is the place of that name in Bhīr District Haidarabad State (*Imp Ga Atlas Plate 40 B2*).

The College Junagadh

20th October 1916

S. H. HODIVALA

(III) GADHARAT (?) [GADHAKOT]

The Nagpur Museum contains two Rupees of Ahmad Shah to which Mr Nelson Wright first drew attention in Num Sup XIII. These coins are Marhatta struck. They resemble in execution the Katak coins on pp 248-250 of IMC III 1908. What their mint is I am not able to conjecture (*Loc cit* 242). The year is represented by the number ٢١ on both and one of them has an arrow head to the left of the mint name which Mr Wright thought was گدھار on the larger coin and گدھ on the smaller.

May I beg leave to offer for the consideration of Numismatists a suggestion in reference to the e puzzling Maratha issues? It is that the name is گدھاکوٹ (or گدھاک) The third letter is not a nun but a ha. The fifth is a ک which has been cut off from the larger coin but is clearly visible on the smaller. The latter has in its turn lost the first two letters گد or گدھ.

The place is not at all difficult to identify. It is the Garhakota of the *Imperial Gazetteer*—a town in the Rehli Tahsil of Saugor District Central Provinces situated in 23° 46' N and 79° 3' E at the junction of the Gadheri and Sonar rivers 28 miles from Saugor on the Damoh road. It has an old fort which must formerly have been of great strength, and was held by the rebels and stormed by Sir Hugh Rose in 1855. Two miles from the town is an old tower which formed part of the summer palace of a Bundela King and is said to have been constructed in order that both Saugor and Damoh might be visible from its summit (VII 161). Gurhakota Rupees are included by Prinsep (*Useful Tables* Ed 1834 p 44) in his list of silver coins and he states that they were debased Balāh.

It may not perhaps be superfluous to add that Garhakota is altogether different place from Gadha near Jabalpur to which the Balanagar Gadha coins of Shah Alam II have been with good reason assigned.

As for the figures ٢١ they are probably a mis stamp for ١٢ [11] 6٠٨ H. They can not stand for the regnal year.

The College Junagadh

10th March 1917

S. H. HODIVALA

(iv) GANGPÜR (?) [GANJIKOT].

Among the rarities in the British Museum is a diminutive gold coin (wt. 22 grs.) of the 5th year of Farrukhsiyar, with a mint-name which was read by Mr. Lane Poole as گنگپور (B.M.C. no. 902). The Indian Museum contains a small piece in the same metal (wt. 43 grs.) bearing on the obverse the name علي گور, and on the reverse a mint-name read in the same way by Mr. Rodgers (I.M.C. No. 10908, p. 76). Mr. Nelson Wright has pronounced the opinion that this reading "cannot be supported," and suggested that it is probably گنجکوت, without saying where Kanjankot is to be found. (I.M.C., 1908, III, No. 2281a, p. 270 Note.)

May I be permitted to state that the true reading is گنجیکوت Ganjikot, the name by which the famous fortress of Gandikot in the Kaḍāpah district of the Madras Presidency is repeatedly mentioned by several writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? It will be seen that I take the fourth letter of the name to be an ی and not a و, and the first to be the *Kāf-i-Fārsi*, or *Gāf*. It may therefore be perhaps necessary to say that the inferior dots of the ی are clearly marked in the British Museum coin.

The reading settled, I will now proceed to the identification of the mint. In the first place, the name occurs in a valuable Persian history of the Quṭb Shāhī Kings which has been incorporated by Briggs in his Translation of Ferishta. In the Head-note prefixed to the chapter devoted to the reign of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh we read: "The army takes Curnool and Nundial-marches and reduces Gundicotta (*Ganjicotta*), Moosulmooroo, and Kurpa (Cuddapa)." (*Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, Calcutta Reprint, 1910, III, 447). In explanation of this we are told that several years after founding the city of Bhāgnagar or Haidarābād (998 A.H., 1589 A.C.), the King undertook a great expedition, and directed his minister Ameerool Moolk to march against the fort of Gundicotta with the greater part of his army. The place was in possession of a Hindu prince named Narsing Rāj, and "was celebrated for a famous temple to which the surrounding Hindoos of Beejanuggur, to the number of one hundred thousand, used to repair once annually, to pay their devotions, and to make large pecuniary offerings to the idol." The fortress was surrendered by Narsing Rāj to the Musalmāns, after "a siege of some duration," and placed in

¹ "There is in Gandikot," Tavernier informs us, "a pagoda which is considered to be one of the principal in India, where there are many idols, some being of gold and others of silver." Ed. Ball, II. 200.

charge of Sanjar Khan but on the King's return to the capital the neighbouring Rajas rose in rebellion and appear to have recovered it (*Ibid* 402-406)

About sixty years afterwards Gandikota was again captured by the famous Gulkanda minister Mir Jumla and readers of Tavernier will remember the jeweller's description of his interviews with the general soon after the latter's reduction of the fortress (September 1602) *Travels* ed Ball I 260 l 284 9

The author of the *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* says of Mir Jumla

بدروى شهاب و کا داسى و لائى را از مصائب کرناک . . . مشمل
بر معدن الماس و چندی دلاخ استوار آمدن اسامى مثل کنجى کوته
و مذهب که عبارت از بالاکوٹ کرناک و مریحده سواد باشد و درینولا
حاکم بنشین آن کریم است و هیچ یک از املاک قطب الملک را منور
نشده بود (از کرناکهای استرام نموده بنصره آورد)

(Bibl. Ind Text III 30 l 14—31 l 2)

By the sheer force of his valour and knowledge of affairs a tract belonging to Karnatak containing a diamond mine and several strong and impregnable (*lit* with iron foundations) fortresses like *Kanjikottah* (or *Ganjikottah*) and *Sidhout* (which is really the Balaghat or Haidarabad Karnatak of which the chief town is now Karpah [Kadapah] and which had not been acquired by any of the ancestors of Qutbu-l-Mulk) was now taken from the Karnatakians and brought into possession

In another place the same writer tells us that *Kanj Kotah* was one of the greatest fortresses *حصن معظم* of the Balaghat Karnatak (*Ibid* III 317 ll 4 ff)

Similarly Grant Duff informs us that after the fall of the Gulkanda Kingdom Gootee Gurrumecondah *Gandicotta* and *Sidhout* which were included in the Haidarabad Carnatic and were under Golconda, came into the possession of the Mughals (Reprint p 153)¹

Coming down to later times we find the following statement in the life of Haidar Ali Khan in the *Ma'asiru-l-Umara* —

و در حال فخر (که سنه (۱۱۹۳) هجری و یک صد و صد و صد
هجری مس) بر سر کوه ابلغار نموده قلعه مذهب و کنجى کوٹ و غيره

¹ So the *Imperial Gazetteer* also says It [Gandikota] was captured by the Golconda Sultan and held by Mir Jumla later it was the capital of one of the five Sarkars of the Carnatic Balaghat until it was absorbed by the Pathan Nawab of Cuddapah XII 17

معالاب را منصرف گشته عدد الحکم خان صانه حاکم کنجا را ودد نبره
همراه خود بسوی رنگ بند برد *

(Bibl Ind Text I 612 ll 12 13)

And at the time of writing which is the year 1193 of the Hejra [1779 A C] he has suddenly marched against Karpah [Cuddapah] and possessed himself of the fortresses of Sidhout and Kanjilol or [Ganjilol] and other districts and taken prisoner and carried off its governor Abdul Hakim Khan Miyana in his train to Srirangapattan

Let us now hear what a European contemporary Major Charles Stewart has to say about the matter —

In the year 1776 Hyder commenced his march to the southward which led him through the province of Gūty a very valuable country formerly an appendage of Kuddapah but which in the year 1758 had been made over to the Mahrattas in lieu of Chout In this province were situated several towns and forts of consequence as *Gunycotta* Gorrumcondah Penne condah and Gutv The governor of this province was named Moraw (*sic*) Rao who was obliged to capitulate Hyder broke the articles of capitulation and sent Moraw Rao a prisoner to Seringapatam where he probably died in captivity after which the usurper having established his own collectors and officers over the district returned to his capital Memoirs of Hyder Ali Khan prefixed to the Catalogue of the Library of Tipoo Sultan pp 24 5 See also pp 26 7

Speaking of events which occurred about fifteen years later the same writer says —

On the 6th of June [1791] the allied armies [the English the Nizam and the Mahrattas during the first Mysore War] commenced their march and arrived in the vicinity of Bangalore Here the allies separated the greater part of the Mahrattas proceeded to wards Chittledroog the Nizam's cavalry towards *Gunycotta* and the English to Bangalore (*Ibid* p 64)

The same events are thus described by Grant Duff —

The army of Nizam Ally with the two Madras battalions which continued to the northward took *Gandicottah* on the Pennar and laid siege to Gurrumcondah [1791] Bombay Reprint p 490

James Mill's account is as follows —

By the army of the Nizam only two objects had been effected during the war the reduction of *Gunycottah* and that of Kopaul Mill and Wilson *History of British India* ed 1858 V 291

Lastly the *Imperial Calendar* thus puts the matter — It was here [Ganjilol] that Fateh Naik the father of the great Hyder Ali first distinguished himself Haidar arrived and gar

risoned the fort but it was captured by Captam Little in the war with Ppū in 1791 VII 127 8

This string of passages leaves no room for doubt that Ganjikottah Gunjcottah Gunjeottah and Ganlicottah are different forms of one and the same place name viz the Gandikot of the *Imperial Gazetteer*

One remark more and I have done In Farrukhsiyar's currency writes Mr Lane Poole Arkat Azamnagar and Murshidabad appear for the first time and a diminutive gold *Coinage resembling that of Southern India forms a new feature* it is used from Imtiazgarh Gutā Gangūr (in Chutia Nāgpur) and another mint which is illegible B M C Introduction Mr Lane Poole's reading of the mint name and its location were erroneous but he was able to see that the coins belonged to the peculiar type of South Indian gold pieces which issued from the mints of Adoni and Cūti¹ It is permissible to say that the present inscription of them to a place in the neighbourhood of Gutā and Adoni receives confirmation from the family resemblance specially noted by that expert

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4th April 1917

(c) GULSHANABAD

The mint name Gulshanabad was first deciphered by Dr Taylor on the Rupee of Farrukhsiyar discovered by him in the Treasury of the small State of Limbdi in Kathiawād and described and figured in Num Sup XIV (p 572 Pl LXXVI No 10) Dr Taylor himself was at first not quite sure of his reading but it has been confirmed by the discovery of a second and similar Rupee of the same mint which is in Mr Whitehead's Cabinet (*Mint-list JASB* 1912 p 437) and Gulshanabad has been recognized as one of the two hundred and odd mints of the Mughal Emperors of India But where was this Gulshanabad? Dr Taylor confessed his inability to say anything more about its situation than repeat Dowson's conjecture that it was somewhere in Baglana near Junir (Elliot and Dowson *History of India* VII 337 and 345)

The place-name Gulshanabad occurs frequently in the Mughal chronicles (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri* Bbl Ind Text pp 290, 221 239 243 Khafi Khan Bibl Ind Text II 383, 402 524 743 890 891 *Maasirul-Umara* Bibl Ind Text I 187 364 II 293 322) but there is nothing in any of these passages to indicate where it really was All that can be gathered from some others is that Gulshanābad was a part of what was then

¹ Adoni is in Lat 15° 38' N Long 75° 17' E

Gūti is in Lat 15° 7' N Long 77° 39' E

Candikot is in Lat 14° 47' N Long 78° 16' E

called the Nizāmshāhī Kokan and in the neighbourhood of Rāmsij (Khān Khān, II, 281), that it was somewhere in Baglānā (*ibid.*, II, 101) that it was in the vicinity of Sangamner,¹ Chāndor² and Ankolih³ (*ibid.* I, 524) and also of Nāsik (*ibid.*, I, 274). This is not very illuminating, and such vague statements are all but useless for a satisfactory identification. Fortunately, we are not without other and surer guidance. In the first place, we learn from Scott Waring's valuable Account of the Deccan Subas that the 'Sircar of Sangamner in the Subah of Aurangābād' contained, when that statement was compiled (about 1790 A.C.), 'eleven pergunahs' viz. —

Sangamner, Ahmedābad and Patwad, Bēlawā, Trimbak, Jāpharābād or Chamber Dāderi Dhāderphal, Sindher Nāsick or Gulshanābād Varānā* (Waring, *History of the Mahrattas* pp. 238-9.)

An equally good if not better authority Robert Orme says —

"According to our MSS of the Deccan Firmeek is a pergunnah or district of Sangamner which is one of the Circars or governments of the Subah or province of Aurangābād. The river Gungāh comes from the mountains of the Concan on which Tirmeek is built and passeth through the middle of the Circar of Sangamner to Goulchānābād commonly called Nāsick, the distance twenty coss, below which the bed of the river becomes much broader. Numbers of Hindoos resort every year from the most distant parts to wash at Tirmeek on the day that the sun enters the Scorpion. Every twelfth year the multitude is much greater and some come on every day in every year." (*Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, Ed. 1805, pp. 285-6. See also Grant Duff 49, 51, 52, 284. Mill and Wilson, *Hist. of British India*, viii, 241). It is scarcely necessary to say that Orme's Tirmeek is Trimbak (from Trayambak, 'the three-eyed' a name of Mahādeo) which is 20 miles from Nāsik town. Trimbak says the *Imperial Gazetteer*, (XXIV, 49), is 'a place of Hindu pilgrimage and besides being visited by all the pilgrims who go to Nāsik, has a special fair in honour of Trimbakeshwar Mahādeo held when the planet Jupiter enters the sign of Leo which event happens once every twelve years. Orme's Gungāh is the Southern Gangā the Gangā Gūtāmī or Godavari on which Nāsik is situated (Jarrett, *Ain Tr.* II, 228 and note). It is also stated in Jonathan Scott's *History of the Dekkan* that one of the Mahratta chiefs 'in the service of the governor of Nāsick or Gulshanābād kept a band of robbers and openly

¹ Sangamner, 19° 34' N. 74° 13' E., 40 miles N.W. of Ahmednagar.

² Chāndor (or Chāndwad) 20° 20' N. 74° 15' E., 40 miles N.E. of Nāsik.

³ Akola, Taluka in Ahmednagar District (*Imp. Gaz.* V 189).

⁴ Patwad is Pātodā north of Vinchūr. Dāderi is Dindori, a Talukā in Ahmednagar district. Bēlawā is Yeolā in Nāsik District. Sindher is Sinhar in the same district. (*Imp. Gaz.*)

traded in plunder (*Op cit* II, p 109 *apud Bombay Gazetteer*, XVI p 191)

We may take it then that these Rupees of Farrukhsiyar were issued from the Nasik mint and that Gulshanabad was the name given by the Mughals to that ancient Hindu town probably on account of the fertility of the district in which it is situated and the neighbourhood. The excellence of the fruits and gardens of Baglan or Baglana and the Nizam Shahi Kōhan, in which Gulshanabad was then included, are the theme of the praise of Abul Fazl (*Jarrett Ain Tr* II 251) the author of the *Bādshāhnāma* (*Bibl Ind Text* II 100 or Elliot and Dowson VII 65 6) Khafi Khan (*Bibl Ind Text* II 401 or Elliot and Dowson VII 345) and the compiler of the *Mā asiru l Umarā* (I 415). Baglan is a region of hills and streams and has long been noted 'we read in the *Imperial Gazetteer* for the excellence of its garden cultivation' (New Edition VI 190 see also XVIII 404). It is bounded on the south by Nasik and is at present a part of Nasik District which has been from very old times famous for its grapes three varieties of which are still cultivated (*Ibid* XVIII 400 404). Indeed the popular etymology of Baglana or Baglana is traced to *Bāgh* garden which is synonymous with *Gulshan*.

It would also appear that the division of Nasik city which is inhabited by the Muhammadans is still known as Gulshanabad and a glance at that useful and inexpensive publication the Post Office Guide will show that Gulshanabad is the

Old name for Nasik. The following passage from the local Gazetteer may be also quoted. From the Bahmani Kings early in the sixteenth century it [Nasik] passed to the Ahmad nagar dynasty and was wrested from them by the Moghuls about a hundred years later. By the Musalman rulers the name of Nasik was changed to Gulshanabad the City of Roses and it was made the headquarters of a division. According to local records the country round Nasik passed to the Peshwa in 1751 52 (Fash 1161) when the name of Gulshanabad ceased and the old name of Nasik was revived. *Bombay Gazetteer* XVI 535 6¹.

Junāgadh

20th October 1916

S H HODIVALA

(21) KARARABAD

I am not aware that any attempt has been made to locate the mint of Kararabad from which a few very rare rupees ap

¹ Gulshanābād is said in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (XII 383) to be the *عرف* of Jeora the capital of a small State in Central India. But the State itself dates only from the nineteenth century and Jeorā was only a small Rajput village before it was made his capital by Chafūr Khān. (*Ibid* XIV 66) Jeora is therefore easily eliminated from the discussion.

pear to have been issued in the reigns of Jahāndār Shāh and Farrukhsiyar (Num. Supp. II and VIII). The task is indeed a difficult one, for the name does not occur in any modern Gazetteer or Atlas, or in any of the Musalmān annalists of the period. But in that very valuable Account of the Deccan Subas and their Revenues, as they were estimated about 1790 A.C., which is appended to Scott Waring's *History of the Mahrattas*, I find the following statement: "In the Sircar of Raibag [Subah of Beejapore] there are twelve pergunahs:

Havely¹ [i.e. the town of Rāybāg itself], Codal, Colapore, Carhar (abad), Khauri, Ajode, Nimsor, Mainy. Valwa, Nasore, Varuja, Bhalani."

Now it is easy for any one possessing some acquaintance with the geography of the Bombay Dekkan, to identify several of these names. Raibag is the Rāybāg of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, and a town in the Kolhāpūr State situated in 16° 30' N. and 74° 52' E. 24 miles south-east of Shirol. (New edition, XXI, 277).² Codal is probably Kudāl, one of the sub-divisions of the neighbouring state of Śāvantwādi (*ibid.*, XXII, 154). Colapore is the chief town (16° 42' N., 74° 16' E.) of the state of Kolhāpūr. Mainy is the Māyni of the *I.G.*, a town in the Khatāo taluqā of Satārā district (17° 26' N. 74° 35' E.) 40 miles south-east of Satārā city. (XVII, p. 240.) Valwa is Vālva (17° 2' N., 74° 22' E.), the former-head-quarters of the Taluqa of the same name in Satārā district (XXIV, 298). Nasore is probably Mhāsvad (17° 38' N., 74° 48' E.), a town in the Mān Taluqa of Satārā district, 51 miles east of Satārā town. What then is Carhar? I have little doubt that it is the Karād of the Gazetteer, "the head-quarters of a Tāluqā of the same name in Satārā district, which is situated in 17° 17' N., 74° 11' E., at the confluence of the Koynā and the Kistnā, 31 miles south-south-east of Satārā town. It is referred to in ancient writings as Karahākada. and has given its name to a sub-division of Brāhmans. The mosque of Karād is interesting, as it contains nine Arabic inscriptions. One of these shows that it was built during the reign of the fifth Bijāpūr King, Ali Ādil Shāh (1557-1579) by one Ibrāhim Khān" (XV, 19). It is clear that the town was a place of some importance not only in very ancient times (it has a group of 54 Buddhist caves of a very plain and early type, only three miles to the south-west of it),

¹ "The word Havely, in the Hindvy language, literally signifies palace. In a more extensive sense, it means the residence of the chief of a district, and thus comes to mean the town in which he lives. Havely lands are those dependent on the principal township of the district, and the chief himself becomes styled Havēlydar or Hawaldar." Briggs, *Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, III, 449-50. See also Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s. v.

² Rāybāg is mentioned by Tavernier (ed. Ball, I, 182) as the place where the king of Bijāpūr used to dispose of his pepper.

but even under the Musalmān rulers of Bijāpūr. It is the Kurār of Grant Duff and is mentioned frequently in his *History* (Bombay Reprint pp 5 36 n 55 66, 73 82 127 134 192 271).

We may take it then that this 'Carhar' is the Karād of the *Imperial Gazetteer* but the most noteworthy thing in the passage is the fact of the word *abad* having been added by Scott Waring in parenthesis after 'Carhar'. It seems to me to clearly indicate that the writer was aware that the Hindu name of the town was Carhar [Karhād or Karād] and that the Musalmān conquerors had in accordance with a common practice given it a Persian form by adding the termination *ab* and altered it to Karārabad.

I am by no means oblivious of the fact that the solitary occurrence of the form 'Carhar (abad)' in one writer however well informed can scarcely be said to establish an *absolutely* reliable identification, but this is all that can be found in reference to the subject and I crave permission to lay it before the readers of this Journal as a tentative suggestion which may hold the field until something more satisfactory is forthcoming. I ought perhaps to add that in Mr Jadunath Sarkar's *India of Aurangzeb* (pp cxi and 168 n) a place called Kalārabad or Mandavgaon 17 miles N N W of Chambhargoonda and 13 miles south of Ahmadnagar fort is mentioned but the name has not been accented and it is impossible to say how Kalārabad is to be pronounced. Besides Mandavgaon is a mere village which does not appear on any map or atlas except the voluminous Indian Atlas (Scale 1"=4 miles) issued by the Survey of India Office. I venture to think therefore that this Kalarabad may be for the present dismissed as scarcely likely to have been selected for the site of a silver mint.

The College Junagadh
1st November 1916

S H HODIVALA

(vii) LACHI LANJI LAHBI (?) [KANJI]

Among the novelties described in Dr Taylor's article on Some Coins from the Limbdi Treasury (Num Sup XIV art 89) is a rupee of Aurangzeb which in spite of being other wise of the ordinary type has been figured (No 3 Plate XXXV) in the hope that some coin-collector may be able to suggest the correct reading of the mint name which had defied all his efforts. I understand that Mr Nelson Wright has a duplicate in his cabinet and that the collection of Mr G B Bleasby which is now in the British Museum also contained another rupee from the same unknown mint. A fourth specimen in an indifferent state of preservation is in the Lahore Museum (P.M.C. No 1931) and Mr Whitehead has suggested the reading *Lachi* stating at the same time that the mint is not

certain ' Others have proposed *Lanjī* and *Lakhī*. It seems to me that all the decipherments are untenable inasmuch as they overlook the stroke of the ک which is clearly visible on the plate and which I have seen also on the coin itself in Dr Taylor's possession. The second and third letters of the name are undoubtedly ا and ح respectively and the dots of both are carefully marked in the lower part of the field the other twelve points being accounted for by the ten dots in two clusters of five dots each and the superior and inferior *Nugtas* of the م and the ب of مر. This ensures the rejection of *Lachī* as well as *Lakhī*, which are inadmissible on other grounds also the first in that no place of that name is known the second because though a Lal hi or Lakhī Jangal is frequently mentioned in the Musalman chronicles the name is never spelt with a ح but invariably occurs in the form لکھی (*Ma asir : Ālamgir Bibl Ind Text* p 497 *Khāfi Khān Bibl Ind Text* I 114 124 149 *Ma āsiru l Umarā Bibl Ind Text* I 141 228 603 774 II 286 439 450 712 826 III 311 373 *Badshāh Nāma Bibl Ind Text* Vol I Pt 1 298 476 I Pt 2 10 64 II 236 477 *Ain : Akbari Bibl Ind Text* I 382 226 *Akbarnāma Bibl Ind Text* III 601 608).

This remarkable consensus not only militates decisively against this particular reading but must bring home to our minds the necessity of carefully noting the orthographic usage in regard to place names which appears to have been fairly uniform at least among the superior class of writers.

If then it is impossible to accept any of these suggestions what is the true reading? I submit that it is کنجی Kanji Kınjī or Kunjī according as the diacritical mark is supposed to have been زabar زar or a pish کنجی was the name by which Kanchi the modern Conjeeveram (which is itself a corrupt form of Kanchivaram or Kanchipuram) was known to the Mughals.

In the chapter devoted to Ali Mardan Khan Haidarabadi in the Biographical Dictionary called the *Ma āsiru l Umarā* we read —

و حسن بنی نام داشت ا نوکران عمده و العس والیح حیدرآباد بود
سال ستم جلوس عالمگیری بعد فتح گلکنده ملازم با ساهی گشته منصب
مش هزاری و خطاب علمردان خان بلند آواز گردید و بمطالعہ دری کنجی
مصاف تبریک حیدرآباد هزاری است سال سی و پنجم (ه سنه)
که در کرمک چندی که در معاصرۀ موح نادرشاهی بود (رسد نامبره

بدفع او کمر بسته بر آمد و بعد متانله و رو داد رد و حوردد دستگیر شد و او را
و غیره اسباب حرب متاخر در آمد بعد دو سال صلح معینده داده معطلی
حامل کرد .

(Bibliotheca Indica Text II 824)

* His name was Mir Husaini and he had been one of the principal servants of Abulhasan the ruler of Haidarabād. In the thirtieth year after the accession of 'Alauḡir and after the conquest of Gulkanda he entered the Imperial service and was distinguished (*lit* became famous) by [acquiring] the rank of [a Commander of] six thousand and the title of Alimardan Khan and was exalted by being made Taluqdar of Kanchi belonging to the Haidarabad Karmātak. In the thirty fifth year [1102-1103 A.H.] when Santaji Ghorpūrāh marched to the relief of Chingī which was being besieged by the Imperial forces the above mentioned [Alimardan Khān] girded up his loins and overtook him. After an encounter and the exchange of blows (*lit* the occurrence of striking and receiving blows) he [Alimardan Khān] was taken prisoner and the elephants and the rest of the baggage were plundered by the enemy (*lit* the conquered ones a name by which the Mahrattas are generally spoken of by the Mughal historians). Two years afterwards, he obtained his release on paying a large sum.

The *Ma'asir-i-Umara* is a late authority, having been begun only about 1105 A.H. and completed so late as 1194 A.H. (1780 A.C.) [Elliot and Dowson VIII 187 190] but there is every reason to believe that its source in this instance was the contemporary chronicle of Aurangzeb's operations in the Dekkan which was written by a Kavath named Bhimsen and is entitled *Nuskhā-i-Dilkushā*. The original is still unpublished but there is an abridged translation in Jonathan Scott's *Dehkan* where it is called the Journal of a Boondelah Officer. This Bhimsen a Kavath born at Burhanpur was the nephew of Divanat Rai officiating Diwan of the Dekkan, and spent most of his life as the agent of Dalpat Rao the Bundela chief of Dātia who long fought in Aurangzeb's wars in the Deccan. The Journal has been pronounced to be of the highest importance to the historian, especially for Deccan affairs (Sarkar Aurangzeb Vol II p 304) having been written by an eye-witness about 1190 A.H. (Irvine *Army of the Moghuls* p 307). Jonathan Scott has thus rendered the passages from Bhimsen's Journal which the author of the *Ma'asir* had evidently under his eye.

Meer Huseinee a principal officer of Abou Housun being raised to the rank of six thousand and title of Ali Merdan Khan was appointed to the foudary of Kijjee dependant on Hyderabad Carnatic A.H. 1102 (A.D. 1690). Scott *op cit* ed 1704 Vol II p 76. Intelligence arrived that Sunnah

was following Dhumnah, and arrived at Cavereepauk ten coss from Kinjee and that Ali Merdan Khan Fojedaur, had marched to oppose him thinking himself superior. Suntah had a very large force and in the action a numerous body of Bhela foot which the Khan had hired deserted to the enemy, so that he was obliged to fly and regain the post of Kinjee but was taken prisoner with many of his officers, and all his elephants, camels horses and baggage were plundered" (*Ibid* II, 89)

But where was this Kinjee? Bhimsen himself shall tell us through the mouth of his translator

"The tedious pass extended for near forty coss from Sudum to Kinjee. The last is one of the seven chief worshipping places of the Hindoos which are as follows Ajodeah or Oude Mutterah Pyauge or Aleabad Kasee or Banares Kinjee Ont kapooree and Dowaroutec. These seven have a superiority above all the other holy places of resort. The environs of Kinjee cannot be less in extent than ten coss. There are two temples Seo Kinjee and Bishen Kinjee the walls round each of which are not less extensive than the citadel of Beejapore and within them are innumerable edifices the cost of which cannot be attained by guess. There are every way a great variety of tanks which are all lined with stone. These are called in Hindooh *Kund Gobin* collectively but each has a separate name and season appointed for bathing in it. The court of Seo Kinjee has been formed into a citadel with bastions and battements and in a part of it resides the Fojedaur. From near the fort of Adonee to Kernole [Karnul] Kinjee Jinjee and hence to the sea coast there is not a village without a temple dedicated to either Luchmun or the god Ram. Raou Dalpat having at length arrived at Kinjee took with him Ali Merdaun Khan the foudaur of that place and moved to the fort of Bindwastnee which is twelve coss from Jinjee then marching by Vellore a fort equal to Ahmednuggur reached the neighbourhood of Jinjee. Scott, *op cit* II 84 85

It is clear from these passages that كنجی Kanji (or Kinji or Kunji) was a fortified position of some importance which was the head quarters of a Faujdar or Taluqdar in the 30th year of Aurangzeb's reign and that it was one of the seven chief worshipping places of the Hindūs in India. As to its situation it was only ten coss distant from Cauvereeput and in the vicinity of Bindwastnee (i.e. Wandewash) Jinjee and Vellore. Now Kaveripak (12° 54' N 79° 28' E) Vellore (12° 55' N 79° 9' E) and Wandewash (12° 31' N 79° 36' E) are all in North Arcot district while Jinjee (12° 15' N 79° 20' E) is in South Arcot. Conjeeveram 12° 50' N 79° 42' E is in the immediately adjoining district of Cingleput. It is further said that this Kinjee was ten coss distant from Cauvereeput. Conjeeveram or Kanchipuram is according to Malleton just six

teen miles from Kaveripak (*Founders of the Indian Empire* Lord Clive ed 1882 p 106)

I have said that the كنجی of the *Ma'āsirul Umārā*, and the Kinjee of Bhim Sen is no other than the modern Conjeeveram. Any doubts on that head must be dispelled by the following quotations from European authors. Francis Buchanan writes 2nd July I entered the Company's Jaghire and went to Conjeeveram which by the natives is universally called Kunji (*Journey from Madras through Mysore Canara and Malabar* Ed 1807 Vol III 466). In the General Index to the work we are told that Conjeeveram is a town see Kunji. Then again in his description of Conjeeveram itself there is a clear reference to the Seo Kinjee and Bishen Kinjee into which the town was divided according to the contemporary work which Scott has translated. Most of the houses Buchanan informs us are inhabited by the Brahmans belonging to two large temples that are dedicated to *Iswara* and his wife *Cāmachuma*. About three miles at the Lesser Conjeeveram is another grand temple dedicated to Vishnu who has a Mandapam for his reception at the two visits he makes in the year to *Iswara*. Siva returns the visit once a year only (*Ibid* Vol I pp 12 13).

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the Lesser Conjeeveram with its grand temple dedicated to Vishnu is identical with the Bishen Kinjee of Bhim Sen or Scott. This Bishen Kinjee is again spoken of as *Visnoo Kunchee* by another writer in such a manner as to leave no doubt of its identity with a part of Conjeeveram. In the valuable Statement of Deccan Revenues made out from Mahratta records which is appended to Scott Waring's history of that people and which contains a list of the sircars and pergunahs into which the six Dekkan subas were divided we read

In the Subah of Hyderabad there is also the Circar of Kunchee containing 15 pergunahs

Haveli [i.e. the town of Kunchee itself] Visnoo Kunchee Kurgoollee Hawereebala [Kaveripak] etc (*Waring op cit* p 268)

Lastly Manucci also refers to *Allis Marda Canas* [Ali Mardan Khan's] connection with *Canchy* of which he says that it is twenty leagues inland from Madras. It was in old days a great city whence the Hindus to this day hold it in great veneration owing to the existence of large and lofty temples. Each one of these would make an excellent fortress and inside of them are many buildings with figures of idols and gilded paintings of the lives and infamies of their false gods. In the midst is a large tank the four sides built of large stone (*Irvine Manucci's Storia del Mogor* III 243). In another place he includes *Canchy* in the *Karnatik* among the seven principal

"Holy Places" of the Hindus, the other six being Maya [Māyāpur, close to Haridwar], Maturā, Cāvis [Kāshi] Evantica [Avanti, i.e. Ujjain], Puris [Puri or Jagannāth in Orissa] and Darīhotis [Dwārāvati i.e. Dwārka in Kathiāwād] *Ibid*, III, 244-5. He also refers to 'Alī Mardān Khān's capture by "an officer of the Shiyā Jī called Santāngapō" [Santān] Ghorpade] and attributes it to the treachery of his own chief, Zul'fiqār Khān, who hated him. *Ibid*, III, 273.

One word more as to the spelling of the name as it appears on the coins, may perhaps be not altogether out of place. It may be urged that the correct form of the name is Kānchīvar am or Kānchīpuram with a long 'a' after the first consonant, and that we ought to have had كنعى and not كنجى (without an 'ahf') on the coins. I may be permitted to say that this difficulty, which has seemed insuperable to a very friendly critic, admits of an easy solution. That solution is that كنجى is only one of many place names, which drop the long 'a' which they have in Sanscrit or in the popular pronunciation when transliterated into Persian and written in books or inscribed on coins. Thus —

Kanyakubja becomes كنجير Kāshmir كشمير Māndū مندو Vārāṇasī وارنس, Bāglāna (बगलाना) بگلانہ, Satāra (सतारा) ستارا, Pātan (गुजरात) پتن, Pāthri (پتھری) پتھری, Ārākan (رحنک) رحنک, Bājaur (بجور) بجور, Tāpti (تپتی) تپتی, Chāmpāner (چمپانیر) چمپانیر, Mānjrā (منجرا) منجرا.

There is therefore nothing out of the common in the form كنجى, and we may take it that the coins under discussion were issued from the town which is now known as Conjeeveram at some time after the conquest of the dominions of the kings of Gulkanda by the Mughals in the thirtieth year of the reign of Aurangzeb. It is perhaps necessary to add that this Kanji or Kinji (or Conjeeveram in Chingleput) is not identical with

¹ *Imp Gaz*, XIV, 370, S V Kanauj

Ib, XVII 171, مندو on coins, P M C Intr. ex

Imp Gaz, VI, 190, 192, بگلانہ in Khāfi Khān, II 247, 274, 280-399

Ma āsir-i 'Ālamgiri 470

Imp Gaz, XXII, 128 ستارا Ma āsir-i 'Ālamgiri 336-420

Pathri in Parbhani District, Haidarābād State, *Imp Gaz*, XV, 30,

پتھری in Ma āsir-i-Umarā, I, 356, 489, 700

رحنک in Ma āsir-i 'Ālamgiri, 30, 31, 'Ālamgirnāma 484-506, 560

Bājaur *I G*, VI, 219

تپتی in Khāfi Khān II 500, 619-854, 875

Manjra River in Haidarābād State, *I G*, XVII, 197 *Badshāhnama*

I 331, 361

Ginji or Gungee in South Arcot The name of the great fortress which defied the arms of Aurangzeb for nearly eight years and was afterwards captured by Bussy is written Gunjee or Ginji by Grant Duff, Mill and other Anglo Indian historians, but the spelling found in the Musalman writers is always حنجی (*Ma āsir-i Alamgir* Bibl Ind. Text 339 344 350 352 353 359 362 364 391 400 502) or حنجی (*Khan Khan, II* 404 413 418 450 534, *Ma āsir-i Umarā II* 94 270 500, 815, III 555 556) It is also not unworthy of notice that حنجی is the form found on coins (Num Sup XIV, 570)

Junāgadh

S. H. HODIVALA

(1115) MANGARH

Mangarh is a mint name in the Mughal series of which the reading itself is not entirely free from doubt and in reference to the identification of which nothing beyond conjecture has been hitherto advanced. Copper coins struck at Manghar (or Manghir ?) in the early years of Akbar's reign are recorded to have been in the White King collection and also in Major Vest's cabinet. The reverse closely follows the Suri type as may be perceived from the specimen (dated 968 A.H.) which is figured in Mr Valentine's *Copper Coins of India* (pp. 66 7). The name has been there read Manghir but there is nothing on the coin itself to warrant the interpolation of an *h* between the *h* and the *r* and Mr Whitehead's reading Manghar appears to me to be the correct one.

But supposing that the name is Manghir, it seems to me very hazardous to identify it with Mongyr or Monghyr in Bihar. The name of that town is never spelt by any Persian writer of reputation except as مونگر or مونگر or منگر. Abul Fazl mentions Mongyr several times in his works but he always writes it in one or other of these three ways and in no other (*Isht-i Akbari* Bibl Ind Text I 417 419 *Akbarnama* Bibl Ind Text III 22 107 141 307 308 324 334 395). Badaoni's spelling is منگر in *Muntakhabu t-tawarikh* Bibl Ind Text I 349 as well as in II 252. Nizamuddin Ahmad also rejects the *h* and adheres to the form مونگر (*Tabaqat-i Akbari* Lucknow Lithograph p. 336 II 19 21).

All these three are writers who flourished in the reign of Akbar and their testimony would be conclusive as to the orthography of the period even if it had been at variance with the form adopted in subsequent times. But later writers also do not depart from the older spelling and مانگر receives no countenance from any one of them. We have مانگر in the *Badshah*

nāma, (Bibl Ind Text Vol I Pt 2 pp 1 272 Vol II p 68) and the *Maāsur i Umarā* (Bibl Ind Text II 170) Muḥammad Kāzīm of the *Īlamgir-nāma* shows a decided preference for the additional *wa* and writes *مولنگر* no less than a dozen times (Bibl Ind Text pp 31, 211 223 336 337 340 343, 393, 194 49, 600 915) Khafī Khān (Bibl Ind Text Vol II 75 100) and the author of the *Maāsur i Īlamgir* adopt the same form (Bibl Ind Text p 21) which occurs once in the *Maāsur i Umarā* (Bibl Ind Text III 411) also

It is possible that this reasoning will make no appeal to those who bewildered by the embarrassingly abundant various readings of obscure proper names which are proudly displayed in some of our editions and translations of the Persian historians have come to entertain the notion that there was no uniform or recognised orthographic usage at all in reference even to the well known place names I beg therefore to urge a point which seems to me to militate decisively against the attribution of these coins to Mongyr in Bihār That point is that Mongyr was not included in Akbar's dominions at all in 968 A H All Eastern India beyond the district of Jaunpur was then outside the Mughal limits and in the possession of Sulaiman Kararani of whom Abul Fazl says in his chronicle of the 17th year that he exhaled the breath of power in Bengāl Bihār and Orissa (*Īkbarnāma* Tr Beveridge III 5 6) Sulaiman died in that year (980 A H) and the news reached Akbar when he was engaged in besieging the castle of Surat The Khan-i-Khanan Munim Khan the governor of Jaunpur was then commanded to undertake the conquest of Sulaiman's territories and it was only when Munim was found unable to achieve any signal success that the Emperor himself marched in great force towards Bengal The first fruits of the campaign were the conquests of Hajipur and Patna after a sanguinary struggle in 982 A H (*Tabaqāt i Akbari* in Elliot and Dowson V 372 377 9 *Badaoni* Tr Lowe II 166 176 ff Abul Fazl *Īlbarnama* in Elliot and Dowson VI 39 44 Von Noer Tr Mrs Beveridge I 214 229) Indeed it stands out clearly from a fact incidentally mentioned in the *Īkbarnāma* that Mongyr was even so late as 981 A C in the possession of Daud the son of Sulaiman Kararani It was at Mungir that Daud had his cousin Yusuf whom he regarded as a possible rival put to death and it was this murder which alienated Yusuf's father in law Jahan Khan Lodi the most powerful and devoted of the adherents of his house By the subsequent assassination of Lodi himself he uprooted as Badaoni quaintly puts it the plant of his prosperity with the spade of calamity and the bread of the Khan-i-Khanan and the Mughals fell into the butter (*Īkbarnāma* in Elliot and Dowson VI 41 Beveridge's Translation III 31 97 100 *Badaoni* Tr Lowe II 177 8 Von

Noer, *op cit* I 217) It seems to me therefore out of the question to suppose that any coins should have been struck in Akbar's name at Mongyr so early as 968 A H

But if Mongyr is inadmissible for more than one reason where is this Manghar to be looked for? I beg to be permitted to place before the readers of this Journal the very respectable *historical evidence* that is available in favour of its identification with the great fortress of Mankot. I am not aware of its having been set out before

In the first place then Badaoni has three references to that great frontier stronghold in two of which it is called Mangarh and in one only Mankot

Islem Shah in order to remove the cause of the mischief [the rebellion of the Niyazis who had taken refuge with the Ghakkars] marched with a large army and reaching the Punjab took up a strong position in the northern hill range and by way of guarding his headquarter post built five forts *Mānkōt* Rashidkot and others (Rankings Translation I 498) A little further on we read At the time when Islem Shāh had sent troops against the Chakkars and the Jānoha party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat he himself was occupied in building the fortress of *Mangarh* (*Ibid* p 500)

Once more Badaoni mentions Mangarh in describing an attempt made upon Islem Shāh's life in its neighbourhood

Among the events which happened during the time that Islem Shāh was encamped at *Bur* was the following —One day in the interval between two times of prayer, Islem Shah was sitting at ease upon his roadster and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the fort of *Māngarh* which lies at a distance of five or six *Krohs* or thereabouts in accordance with his usual custom when suddenly a man sprung up in front of him and blocking the road holding a sword concealed in his armpit aimed a blow at him (*Ibid* pp 526 7)

This event is related by Nizāmu-d-din Ahmad and Ferishta in almost identical terms with the only difference that the place is called by them *Mānkōt* It will suffice to quote the passage from the version of Briggs In this expedition a person having concealed himself one day in a narrow path by which Selim Shāh was ascending the mountain of Mankote rushed on him with a drawn sword (*Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* Calcutta Reprint II p 135, *Ferishta* Lucknow Lith I 231 *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* Lucknow Lith 236 II 14 15)

Lastly there is a passage in another work in which *Mānkōt* and *Mangarh* are explicitly said to be identical This occurs in the *Tārīkh-i Dāwūd* of a writer named Abdulla who says Islem Shah stayed some time at Gwālor and then set about building the fort of *Mānkōt* He went thither and caused five forts to be erected one of which he named Sher

garh a second Islamgarh a third Rashidgarh a fourth Firozgarh the fifth retained its original names of *Mānkōt* and *Māngarh* (Elliot and Dowson IV 494) The *Tārīkh-i Dāūdī* was written it is true some time after the accession of Jahangir and is strictly speaking not a contemporary authority but it appears from a note at the foot of the page that this particular statement about the five forts which it will be remembered occurs also in Badaoni is copied from the *Waqi'āt-i Mush-tak* (MS p 154) which was itself composed by Shaikh Rizaullah Mushtaqi who was born in 897 A H and died in 989 A H 1492 1581 A D (Elliot and Dowson IV 534)

These quotations from contemporaneous historians furnish I venture to think just the sort of testimony which is indispensable for establishing the identity of an obscure mint name upon which no light is thrown either by our *Cazetteers* or our *Atlases*. They show that Mankot was known as Manghar also in the times of Islam Shah and the first years of Akbar's reign to which last the coins belong. We know that it was the companion stronghold to the Western Rohtas erected by Sher Shah and built with the same object of holding the Ghakkars of the Salt Range in check. It is common knowledge also that it was to Mankot that Sikandar Sur retreated after his defeat at Sirhind and that the fortress fell only after a siege of little less than six months on 27th Ramazan 964 A H (*Tabaqāt-i Albari* in Elliot and Dowson V 254 5. Lowe *Badāoni* II 11 12. von Noer *op cit* I 77). Mankot does not find a place on our modern maps but we know from Abul Fazl that it was in the sirkar of the Rechnau Duab and that in it were included 4 towns each with a stone fort (*Am Tr* Jarrett II 321). Elsewhere the same authority informs us that Selim Khan's real object in building these great forts was that when the standards of H M Jahanbani Junnat Ashiyani [Humayūn] should be directed towards India there might be a refuge for the army of the Panjab (*Albarnama* Trans Beveridge II 80). Friskine (*History of India under Babar and Humayun* II 467) says that Mankot or Manghar was on the farthest outskirts of the Siwalik mountains and composed of four or five forts on as many eminences but all connected together. Mankot is now no more than a great ruin situated about 76 miles N of Amritsar (32° 37' N 74° 55' E) in the Jammu territory of the state of Kashmir. It is now known as Ramkot.

Junāgadh
5th October 1916

S H HODIVALA

(12) [MUNABAD]-PUNJ

Among the rare coins in the Panjab Museum there is a Rupee of the 10th regnal year of Shāh Ḥamīd II which bears

his pre accession name of شاه علی [sic] گوهر on the obverse and a peculiar ornament (P M C No 94) in the loop of the می of حلوی on the reverse. Mr Roders read the latter half of the mint name on the coin as پورا and this decipherment has met with general acceptance, but this name is preceded by an other of which only the tail ک is visible. An exactly similar coin of the 2nd regnal year 'on which the word گوهر appears in full' is described by Mr Longworth Dames in *Num Chron* 1902 p 305 Pl XIV no 65. Two other coins of Ali(?) Gohars with the same mint mark are also known but they differ from the foregoing in that instead of the regnal year the Musalman date is expressed in Nagari figures. Dr Hoernle was the first to publish in issue of this type (J A S B 1897 p 273 Plate XXXIV No 76) on which the date is ۱۲۴۳ (1243). Mr Dames edited another with the figures ۱۲۳۱ (1231) in the *Num Chron* (1902 p 305 No 72) but the double mint name does not appear in full on either of these specimens. Mr Dames was able to read لا on his coin but could not make anything of the letters and all that Dr Hoernle was able to say was that his Rupee was on native authority attributed to the Peshwas. Now all the four coins have a characteristic mark or symbol of which Prinsep said so long ago as 1834 that it was found on the Halee sicca of Poona (*Useful Tables* p 56). Indeed it may be safely said that numismatists are now practically agreed in supposing all these coins to have issued from the Puna mint. That which remains unsettled and awaits solution is the other name of which only the tail is visible.

I venture to point out that there are in the accredited Musalman histories several passages which enable us to say with confidence that that name is محی آباد Muhiabad. In the first place Khafi Khan expressly informs us that Aurangzeb issued in the 47th year of his reign an order to the effect that Puna was to be henceforth called Muhiabad.

بعد از فتح گوج فرمود یک ماه تمام بر سر کار در آنجا و متاع
حوالی بصدق مدعو * * * برای آرام لشکر گذر بديد و آن مکان را بدو آنکه
ماه را * معتد محی املب حلف الصدق نامداد و آن معتد کم بعش که از
نظ رانی متوفر پوری بر و رباة مرده سال بمع زندگى عارض بامده باحل
طبعی مرحله پیمای حبب الماوا گشت و در آن مکان فصل مرار واصل
لاندو شمع اقدس مدین گشت لهذا محی آباد موسوم گرداد *

(Bibl Ind Text Vol II p 510 ll 12 21)

After this conquest [of Sinhgadh or Kondana] he gave orders to march and spent one month of the rainy season on the road to Pūnā and the places in the environs of that town for giving rest to the troops. And because the Prince Muhammad Muhiul Mullat the eldest son by the Rani Munohirpuri of the Prince Muhammad Bahkhashi who had not tasted the pleasures of this fleeting existence for more than ten years became a traverser of the road (lit stages) to Paradise and was buried in that town near the resplendent shrine [or tomb] of Shakh Salihud din he [i.e. the Emperor] gave it the name of Muhiabad.

Of this passage Dowson has given the substance in the following words: Prince Muhiul Mull [sic] son of Prince Kam Bahksh died here so the name of Pūnā was changed to Muhiabad. VII 373 Note

The author of the *Masiri Alamgiri* also says that after the conquest of the fort of Kondana [thereafter called Bahkshindah Bahksh] in 1114 A.H. Aurangzeb resolved to bring the rainy season to an end in Muhiabad—Pūnā

عزم مصمم بر این قرار نام که اینام بر شکل در معنی آباد بونا سر آمد *

Bibl Ind Text 475 ll 2 3

The same fact is mentioned by the author of the *Masiri Umari* which was completed in A.H. 1134 (1780 A.C.)

حلد مکان در سال چهل و هفتم بعد بسجدر قلعه بندانه موسوم بهشده

بهش بازاده انتصای بر شکل در معنی آباد بونا آمد *

(Bibl Ind Text I 319 ll 8 10)

In the forty seventh [regnal] year Khuld Makan [i.e. Aurangzeb] after the conquest of Kondana called Bahkshindah Bahksh came to Muhiabad Pūnā with the intention of terminating the rainy season there

This reference is not without significance inasmuch as it shows that this writer, who was a resident of the Deccan and flourished during the reign of Shah Alam was familiar with the double name of the town

Lastly Grant Duff tells us that upon the reduction of Rajgarh and Torna the Emperor after halting some months near Joonere finally quitted the neighbourhood of Poona of which place also he had changed the name to Moyabad and marched to Beejapoor (Bombay Reprint 1873 p 178)

We may then take it for certain that the Mughal name of Pūnā was Muhiabad and we should be justified in declaring on

the strength of this historical consensus that the full name of this mint which has hitherto defied all our efforts at decipherment was Muhtabad—Puna. In other words we should be on absolutely safe ground in bringing the historical evidence to apply the defect in the Numismatic testimony and relying on the former alone even if the latter did not exist. But I am happy to say that there is at least one coin of the second type on which

the name *ابن محمد* can be clearly read. It is one of several others which are not so good in the cabinet of Mr Framji J Thauawalla to whom my acknowledgments are due for allowing me to examine them.

The College Junagadh
15th March 1917

S. H. HODIVALA

(1) PORBANDAR OR PARENDA?

There are probably few earnest students of Mughal numismatic to whom the conjectural and hazardous character of some of our decipherments must not at times have been brought home and I have sometimes ventured to think that the reading *Porbandar* of a mint name which occurs on several issues during the reigns of Aurangzeb Bahadur Shah Shah Alam I and Farrukhsiyar is not free from serious doubt and difficulty. Indeed one of the coins attributed by Mr Whitehead to Porbandar is a muhr of Farrukhsiyar in the British Museum which was assigned by Mr Lane Poole to *Barrh* (B.M.C. No 593 P.M.C. Introd. p. lvi). A copper coin of the same Emperor on which something like *اب* only is at best, but darkly visible and of which the *nugtahs* are almost as gloriously uncertain as the law itself has been also given to the same mint with a confidence which is scarcely warranted by the indifferent state of preservation in which the coin itself would appear to be (P.M.C. No 241a and Num. Sup. XVI. 34). This tantalizing absence of the dots is conspicuous on two other coins which have been ascribed to the same mint a rupee of Aurangzeb's found in the Bhandara district of the Central Provinces and another of Bahadur Shah Shah Alam I (H. N. Wright I.M.C. Nos. 1503 and 1694).

After having thus challenged the verdicts of such experts as Mr Nelson Wright and Mr Whitehead it is incumbent upon me to state the reasons for placing Porbandar in the category not of the known or reasonably certain mint towns of the Mughals but of the conjectural and altogether uncertain ones. In the first place then the dots of the third letter are not so unambiguously marked on any known specimen as to make it impossible to read the name in some other way. The same uncertainty is further predicable of the final or sixth letter

which does not appear at all on most specimens and where it happens to be partially visible (as on the Auringzeb rupee figured in Num Sup IV Pl II 10) it would seem to be in *alif* rather than *re*. Briefly two at least out of the six letters are altogether doubtful and impossible to fix.

In the second place the name of the small Kathiawad town of Porbandar is always spelt on the very few occasions on which it is at all alluded to by the Persian historians as *پور بندر* with the *wa* which I never dropped. Porbandar is incidentally mentioned once in the *Albarnāma* of Abūl Fazl (Bibl Ind Text III 638 l 10) and once also in the chapter of the *Āin-i Akbari* which is devoted to a description of the Suba of Gujarat (Bibl Ind Text I 500). The only other Persian word in which the name occurs to my knowledge is the history of Gujarat called the *Mirāt-i Ahmadi* and the spelling found in all the passages is not *پور بندر* but *پور بندر*. Again the second volume of the *Mirāt* contains a valuable statistical account or District Gazetteer in which the writer expressly mentions all the mints of the Province that are known to us viz Ahmadabad Sūrāt Cambay and Junagadh. There is not a word however in the section on Porbandar about *دار لصر* or mint having ever existed in that town though several details are given as to the establishments in each of the other mints and even the revenue derived from them.

Indeed it is not easy for any one acquainted with the history of Kathiawad to understand why Porbandar should have ever been raised to the dignity of a gold mint at a time when it was a place of only secondary importance even in the very small district occupied by the ancestors of the present Jethva chief of Porbandar. It was not even their capital for that was situated at Chhaya throughout the period to which the coins under discussion belong. The fact is that it was only in the year 1785 of the Christian era that the Rana Sultani perceiving that the Mughal power was entirely broken transferred his seat of rule to Porbandar which has ever since been the Jethva capital and gives a name to the chiefdom. *Bombay Ca elector VIII 628*)

Lastly this decipherment would make Porbandar a gold mint in the reign not only of Farrukhsiyar but of Bahadur Shah Shih Alam I (Whitehead Mint list I A S B, 1912 p 467 and Num Sup XXV 237). Now a glance at the list of Mughal mints is sufficient to show that the town in which the noblest of the metals was allowed to be coined were all either places of historical renown famous centres of wealth and industry in their day capital seats of great subas or provinces or localities having some political or military importance at the time. I am not sure that a single *unbought* instance can be

that the forts of Parandā which had formerly belonged to Nizam ul mulk but which had been surrendered to 'Adil Khān for a bribe' should be allowed to remain in the possession of the latter (I^D VII 57 Grant Duff 50, 52). At last it came into the hands of the Mughals in the third year of Aurangzeb (1071 A.H.) when the Andul Umra Shrivastā Khān reported that the fort of Parandā had been won without fighting" (Misrī 'Alamgiri' text p. 33, I^D VII 263). It remained in the hands of the Mughals during the rest of Aurangzeb's reign and Khāsh Khān informs us that Kām Baksh was encamped at Parandā forty or fifty kos distant from Ahmadnagar" when he heard of the death of his father (Bibl. Ind. Text II 59, I^D VII 389).

Coming down to later times it is clear from the pages of Grant Duff that it was an important military station even in 1774 A.C. It was at Parandā that Primbuck Rao Māyā and Subaji Bhonslay were encamped in that year and from which they marched against Raghunāth Rao (Reprint 1873 p. 367). Twenty-one years later the decisive battle of Khardā or Khardā was brought on while the Nizam's army was marching from Khardā to Parandā (*Ibid.* 515-6). Lastly Colonel Stevenson was on the outbreak of the Second Marhatta War (1803 A.C.) ordered to take up his position with the Hyderabad subsidiary force and 15,000 of the Nizam's own troops at Parandā on account of its vicinity to the Peshwa's eastern frontier (*Ibid.* 568; see also Mill and Wilson *History of India* Ed. 1858 VI 212).

The name of Parandā or Parendā is not now so familiar as that of Porbandar and the former is at present only a town in ruin to which not more than a dozen lines are devoted in the *Imperial Gazetteer*. Parendā has fallen while Porbandar has risen but there can be no doubt that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the first quarter of the eighteenth to which last period all the coins under consideration belong Parendā continued to be what Porbandar never was and perhaps never can be a place of great political and military importance and much the most likely of the two to have possessed a gold mint.

It is of course true that the name cannot be read with certainty on any of the half-dozen coins hitherto discovered but then the reading Porbandar is besides being at least equally uncertain open to other serious objections. Under the circumstances I crave permission to put in a caveat against Porbandar and submit that the claims of Parendā are at least equally worthy of consideration. I do not therefore think it too much to ask that judgment should be reserved until the discovery of less ambiguous specimens.

PS—I have said that on the Auringzeb rupee figured in Num Sup IV the final letter looks more like an *alif* than a *re*. I would invite attention to Rodgers' Copper Coin (J A S B 1895 Pl XVIII No 50) in which also the final letter is clearly in *alif* if the drawing can be relied upon. It is perhaps not unworthy of note that it is of the 4th year of Farrukhsiyar (B M C 893 is of the 5th) and that Rodgers' own decipherment so far as it went was *ال*.

S H H

197 NOVELTIES IN PARTHIAN COINS

Parthian numismatics have been made the subject of study by some well known numismatists since the celebrated Vaillant (died in 1706) whose work on this subject was published posthumously in 1725. His attributions were greatly improved upon by subsequent scholars whose meritorious investigations paved the way for recent works by Longpérier (*Mémoires sur la chronologie et l'iconographie des rois parthes Arsacides* Paris 1853 the 18 engraved plates were not published until 1882) Prokesch Osten (*Les monnaies des rois Parthes* Paris 1874-75 with 6 plates) Gardner (*The Parthian Coinage* London 1877, with 8 plates) and Wroth (*Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia in the British Museum* London 1903 with 37 plates). Over and above these four works now most commonly consulted mention must be made of the important paper (Coins of the Arsacidae text in Russian) on unpublished and noteworthy coins by De Markoff which appeared in the *Journal of the Russian Oriental Society St Petersburg* 1892. Drouin has given a very able summary and review of this paper in the *Revue Numismatique part I* 1893. Rapson (*Numismatic Chronicle* 1893 pp 203-219) has also reviewed it but from points of view other than those already occupied by Drouin. Prokesch Osten's book describes the coins in his own fine collection now in the Berlin Museum.

The coinage of the Parthian rule forms a very extensive series spreading over a period of nearly four hundred and seventy-five years from about B C 250 to about A C 227. The decisive engagement with Artaban (Artabanus) in which the last Parthian monarch fell and where Artabab I gained the title of King of kings seems to have been on 28th April (A C 224 according to Noldeke or A C 227 according to Gutchmid) and was probably fought in Babylon or Susiana. The drachmes (see B M Catalogue *op cit* pl xxxvi figs 14 and 15) assigned to Artabab des (perhaps a son of Artabanus) furnish the evidence of the remnant of Parthian royalty after the final overthrow by Artabab I the founder of the Sasanian empire.

The coinage consists of silver and bronze pieces. There

are no gold coins the denominations in silver are — tetradrachme drachme, triobol diobol and obol. The last three are very scarce and do not seem to have been minted after Orodes I (BC 57-37). The denomination or normal value of the bronze pieces are not known.

Wroth has come to the conclusion that some modifications must be made in the accepted arrangement of the coins as set forth in Gardner's work. The rectifications that seemed necessary are principally in the period before Phraates IV (BC 38/37-32) and in a paper "On the Re-arrangement of Parthian Coinage" published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1900 (pp. 181-202) he has criticized the existing arrangement. He has indicated an alternative scheme which with various modifications and corrections has been adopted in the British Museum Catalogue. The arrangement of Parthian coins presents exceptional difficulties the principal being the absence of the names of most of the kings on coins. It has not yet been possible to compile with certainty the list of Parthian kings and to determine with precision the limits of their reigns. It must not be assumed that the kings followed one another in natural sequence because we have to make allowances for the possibility of contemporaneous reigns as well as the rise of usurpers and rival rulers. The dated coins bear testimony to these facts vaguely hinted at by the historians.

The obverse almost always represents the king turned to the left save some exceptions with the head of the king to right. There is usually but a slight difference between the portraits of a king in the early years of his reign and those executed in his later years. The reverse of the drachme and lesser denominations bear with some rare exceptions the familiar figure of the seated woman. This type continues constant with some exceptions on the reverse of the tetradrachme also till the reign of Orodes I (BC 57-37) when is inaugurated a new type having the reigning king either on his throne or on horseback usually in the act of receiving a palm or a wreath from a female figure representing the mint city itself. The reverse types of the bronze coins are extremely varied.

The earlier types exhibit higher artistic merit and the inscriptions are written with far greater clearness and correctness. After the reign of Phraates IV (BC 38/37-32) the letters become more crude and from the reign of Gotarzes (AC 40/41-51) the legends on drachmes are quite debased and unintelligible. From this time all legends disappear from the ordinary bronze coins. But the tetradrachme and the pieces of bronze which bear the head or figure of a city can be read to the last.

The ruler conquerors having no civilization of their own

nor even a language at all suited to the intricacies of civilized life, adopted the Greek language and culture which they found already introduced. The Greek epithets and titles assumed by Parthian kings are varied. In the variety of the legends, particularly in their increasing length and the number of titles they comprise we find the key to the arrangement of the coins before Phraates IV. The name of the first king is given simply as ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, the second styles himself ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, the third adopts the style of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ and so on the titles increase till the full royal style is fixed. The drachmas of Phraates IV (see the one described below) present what may be called the stereotyped Parthian legend for it is seen on nearly all the succeeding coinages. Some of the later drachmes bear a legend in Pahlavi. The first two letters of his name in this language occur on the coins of Volagases I (A.C. 52-77/78) and from Mithra later IV (A.C. 110-147) the names of the kings in full appear with the title *mllt* king. This and the barbarous legends indicate that the Greek tongue was no longer understood by the people.

With the meritorious investigations embodied by Gardner and Wroth in their respective works it has now been possible to assign coins with tolerable certainty in spite of most of the rulers having not recorded their names on their coins.

The drachmes of several kings subsequent to Sinatruce (B.C. 77-70) are marked by numerous monograms and letters the number of varieties being greatest under Orodes I (B.C. 57-37). Chabouillet (*Revue Numismatique* 1867 p. 392) says that there are but few cities such as Odessus Patrae and Panormu which are known to have placed on their coins a monogram to represent their names and that in the cases the monogram was a sort of recognised symbol or arms of the town and not a mere invention of the die sinker. He contends that these monograms are usually merely the private mark of a magistrate or contractor and were not intended to be decipherable to any one except himself.

De Markoff (*Monnaies des rois Parthes* Paris 1877 part 2 p. 41 and plate) has compiled a table of 112 different monograms and letters and also a list containing the names of about the same number of towns which he supposes the monograms and letters to indicate. His identifications are mostly hypothetical as most monograms can be read in more ways than one. For example the monogram on the drachme of Phraates IV described below may be read TA, AT and TAT.

Gardner (*The Parthian Coinage* p. 23 sq.) says "To suppose that a monogram in the field of a coin usually represents the name of the mint whence it was issued is to go altogether beyond the evidence. But even if they did contain the names

of cities it would be quite hopeless to attempt to read them a monogram being a thing by nature most obscure and ambiguous. It can nearly always be read in three or four ways and may often by means of a little ingenuity, be made to represent anything the interpreter chooses.

From the appearance of several monograms for a long period it is certain that they cannot be the private marks or personal names of magistrates. The only possible view is to suppose that they indicate in some way or other the mint place of the coins.

The Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia in the British Museum (Wroth 1903) still occupies its leading position as the standard work on this branch of numismatic research. There are many gaps to be filled for not only are the issues of some Parthian rulers still unrepresented in known cabinets but specimens have yet to be discovered of types which by analogy can reasonably be expected to exist.

With the preliminary remarks I here introduce to the notice of student of this epoch a drachme of Phraates IV which so far as I know is unpublished.

1 Drachme of Phraates IV without Adjuncts

The parricide and fratricide Parthian king Phraates IV who reigned from B.C. 38/37 to 3/2 was the eldest of the thirty surviving sons of Orodes I (B.C. 57-37). He was an able but unscrupulous ruler and began his reign by murdering all his brothers. The struggle with Rome was renewed and Antony after the unsuccessful siege of Phraaspa the capital city of the Parthian dependency of Media had to retreat to the Armenian frontier with heavy loss in B.C. 36. This failure brought peace to Parthia. His long reign was not without internal dissensions and it appears that his throne was also usurped for some time by Tiridates. Phraates who had murdered his father Orodes as Orodes had murdered his (Phraates III B.C. 70-57) met his own end by suicide.

His drachmes and bronze coins are classified in types according to the adjuncts on the obverse —

- A Eagle behind with wreath in beak crowning king's head
- B Eagle as above and star in front
- C Eagle as above and crescent in front
- D Eagle as above and star within crescent in front
- E Eagle as above with star and star within crescent in front
- F Star below crescent in front
- G Star below crescent behind and star in front
- H Star in front
- I Nike flying behind wreathing king's head

- J Nike is above and star within crescent in front
 K Without adjuncts

No drachmes are published so far as I know of the types F G H and K, but they by analogy can reasonably be expected to exist. The drachme described below is of the type K without adjuncts. The græctis round about the head of the king is so struck that it precludes the possibility of having any of the adjuncts off the flan.

Description of the Drachme

Metal—Silver *Size*—75 inch *Weight*—11 grms

Obv—The bust of king to left with diadem having fillets floating behind. The hair arranged in formal rows a wart on left temple a moustache and a pointed beard. The bust clothed in dress and a linked necklace with curls in front. Græctis

Rev—Arsaces seated to right on throne holding bow. In front the mint monogram Α

Legend—Above ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ | ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ right
 ΑΡΣΑΚΟΝ in exergue ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΝ | ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ left
 ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | (Φ)ΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟ(Σ)

Translation—The King of kings Arsaces the benefactor the just the (divine) manifestation the friend of Greece



The mint monogram Α appears not only on the drachmes of the reigns from Phraortes II to Phraortes IV but also on the bronze money being the only monogram found on the coins of this metal. Under Phraortes (B C 32 to A C 4) it is found in the form Α and from this reign till the fall of the Arsacid empire is always found on the drachmes. From the time of Vologases I (A C 51-77) hardly any other monogram occurs.

Gardner (*op cit* p 24) emphatically says Α does certainly stand for a city for it is found in connection with the word ΠΟΛΙΣ.

Perhaps he may be correct but not for the reason that this monogram is found on a bronze coin joined with a city type and this word. In reality it is not this monogram but Α that is found in connection with this word as could be seen from his work (p 29 no 22).

Wroth (BM Catalogue *op cit*, p lxxvii) says From the time of Vardanes I onwards Δ is almost the only monogram that appears on the coins. Except in the case of barbarous specimens Ctesiphon may be regarded as the most likely mint place of the later Parthian money. Vardanes I reigned from A C 41/42-45.

This attribution seems to me to be doubtful. How can we be certain that this is the sole monogram on the coins of all kings who reigned contemporaneously from A C 77-78 to 148-9 in different parts of Parthia? The dated tetradrachmes and bronze coins bear testimony to the existence of such rulers during this period. Could it be assumed then that this monogram latterly lost its significance and was taken as a necessary appendage to the design by ignorant die sinkers?

A Drachme of Mithradates II with the Symbol Δ

Longperier (*op cit* p 139 sq) and Gutschmid (Geschichte Irans p 144) identify this ruler with the Meherdotes who is described by John Malala as King of Persia a Parthian by race and brother of Osroes. Wroth (*op cit* p lix) considers the account of Malala as legendary and believes this identification unsatisfactory both on historical and numismatic grounds.

Our knowledge of this king is derived from coins bearing his name in Pahlavi and his portrait which also appears on coins devoid of any Pahlavi legend but clearly issued by the same ruler. The style and epigraphy of his coins clearly indicate that a king named Mithradates was ruling approximately from A C 130 to 147.

His drachmes can be divided —

- A Barbarous Greek legend
- B More barbarous Greek legend
- C Very barbarous Greek legend with the addition of the Pahlavi legend *Mitradata malka*

I here bring to the notice of students of this epoch a drachme belonging to one of the three known types of this king. It may be designated as a variety of type B and is peculiar in bearing on the reverse the symbol Δ . Only two such drachmes are known (see Sammlung Petrowicz Arsaciden Wien 1904 p 154 no 4). A similar drachme is attributed wrongly to Volagases IV by Longperier (*op cit* pl XVII). This symbol occurs only on the bronze coins of Phraates IV Volagases I (A C 51 77/78) and Volagases III (A C 147 48-191). For these coins see BM Catalogue pl xxiii fig 5 pl xxiv fig 13 and pl xxxv fig 3 respectively. Gardner (*op cit* p 50) mentions a bronze coin of Mithradates IV with this symbol in the cabinet of Prokesch Osten which is now in the Berlin Museum.

Thomas (Early Sassanian Inscriptions London, 1868, p 126) conceives this symbol to have been the more conventional representation of the Sun, based upon ancient models the worship of which was largely affected by the Arsacids

Description of the Drachme

Metal—Silver *Size*—1·5 inch *Weight*—48 grams

Obv—The bust of Mithradates IV to left with diadem having fillets floating behind Flowing hair & moustache & long pointed beard, dress and a spiral necklace *Crochetis*

Rev—Arsaces seated to right on throne holding bow In front the mint monogram Α, and behind, the symbol ♀

Barbarous legend obviously in imitation of that given above



FURDOONJI D J PARUCK

26th October 1917

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Note—The numeration of the articles below is continued from p 378 of the "Journal and Proceedings" for 1918

198 SOME RARE MUGHAL COINS

A recent find of Mughal silver coins in the Nadia District presents some features of unusual interest. Of the 42 coins recovered 23 were rupees and these without exception are of well known types. The remainder consisted of small change principally in the form of *nisārs* and it is difficult to find a parallel to such a discovery of thirteen of these varieties all of different dates and representing five different mints. Five belong to the reign of Shahjahan and the rest are issues of Aurangzeb. The most remarkable are the small issues of Shahjahan from the Akbarnagar mint and of Aurangzeb from Jahangirnagar [Dacca]. The latter is a minute piece of exactly 11 grains weight. The uniformity of weight in these small coins is remarkable and except in the case of the Lahore *nisar* of Shahjahan the scale runs almost exactly from 11 to 22 44 and 88 grains.

Apart from the *nisars* the collection of which may well have been the work of some petty official attached to the imperial court the Indian Museum gains three small silver pieces issued in the reign of Aurangzeb from the Akbarnagar mint. The two anna piece has been published already in the British Museum Catalogue but I have not been able to discover a parallel to the quarter rupee of the same type. On all three the legend is in the well known couplet form found on the Akbarnagar rupees.

The following coins appear to merit detailed description —

- (1) Shahjahan
Mint — Akbarabad
Date — 1046 10
Weight — 13.7 grains

Obverse

شاه جهان
سنه ۱۰۴۶
دار السلاطین

Reverse

اکبر آباد
دار السلاطین
صوب
۱۴۶
سنه

- (2) Shahjahan
Mint — Lāhor
Date — 1050 14
Weight — 43 gr

Obverse

شاہ شاہ
شاہ جہاں
شاہ

Reverse

لاہور
صوبہ
دار السلطنت
شاہ

- (3) Shahjahan
Mint — Akbarnagar
Date — 1064 28
Weight — 22 gr

Obverse

شاہ
شاہ
شاہ
شاہ

Reverse

نگر اکبر
اکبر
صوبہ

- (4) (a) Shahjahan
Mint — Shahjahanabad
Date — (4) 1063 27
(5) 1067 30
Weight — 44 gr

Obverse

- (4) as in (3)
but r v
(5) as in (3)
but r to
r of شاہ

Reverse

شاہ
دار السلطنت
صوبہ
شاہ

- (6) Alamgir Aurangzeb
Mint — Akbarabad
Date — 1080 13
Weight — 88 gr

Obverse

شاہ شاہ
شاہ عالم
شاہ

Reverse

اکبر
صوبہ
شاہ

- (7) As (6) but weight 14 gr Date 1071 1
 (8) As (7) but Date 1071 [R Y missing]
 (9) As (7) but Date 1077 10

(10) *Obverse*

Reverse

ۛ
 داد شا عار
 عالم گبر ۱۰۶۲
 ش

ۛ
 اکبر
 ۲۵
 صر

- (11) As (7) but weight 22 gr Date 1080 14
 (12) As (11) but Date 1071 [R Y missing]
 (13) Alamgir Aurangzeb
 Mint — Jāhāngīrnagar
 Date — R Y 19
 Weight — 11 gr

Obverse

Reverse

عالم گبر
 ش
 ش

ۛ
 اکبر
 ۱۹
 صر

23 9 18

H XVIII

199 THE REIGN OF ALAU D DIN BAHMAN SHAH

Historians differ as to the date of the death of the first of the Kings of the Bahmani Dynasty of Kulbarga.

Ferishta says that the death of Alau d din Hasan happened eleven years two months and eleven days after his accession to the throne on the first of Rabi' l awal 769 in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

The Burhan i Maasir does not give the date of his death but follows Ferishta regarding the length of the reign.

The Tazkaratu l Mulūk states that Alau d din died in the year A H 761 and gives the period of his reign as thirteen years ten months and twenty seven days.

In view of the difference in the record of these Indian Historians it is interesting to know that the Prince of Wales Museum Bombay has lately acquired under the Treasure Trove Act a Silver *Tanka* of Alau d din dated 760 A H.

The coin is of the normal type of No 1 of Gold and Silver coins of the Bahmani Dynasty by the Hon James Gibb published in the Numismatic Chronicle of 1881. Mr. Gibb's coin was dated 758 A H and similar specimens dated 757 and 758 were published in the J A S B 1909 by the late Mr. Framjee J. Thanawala. In describing the above specimens Mr. Thanawala took the central figure to be 4. In this he

was undoubtedly wrong as the figure is 5. The coin referred to by Mr Thanawala as being in possession of Mr C E Kotwall is now in my cabinet and the centre figure is certainly 5 as is also the central figure of another coin of this king dated 758 which I also obtained from the latter gentleman. A reference to the plate published with Mr Thanawala's article will also show that the figure is 5. Mr Thanawala's collection contained another specimen dated 759. We thus can record silver *tanlas* of this king dated 757, 758, 759 and 760 and although the latter is open to relegation to the class of "posthumous" I think in view of the difference in the records of the historians quoted above, it is worthy of consideration. It may be noted that the earliest known coin of Muhammad, the successor of Alau-d-din, is also dated 760 (cf Gibb No 3), but a specimen of this king's coinage dated 759 A H is yet to be discovered to give confirmation to Ferishta's statement that Alau d din died in 759 A H.

H M WHITTELL, *Captain*
Indian Army

Bombay 1st July 1918

was undoubtedly wrong as the figure is 5. The coin referred to by Mr Thanawala as being in possession of Mr C E Kotwall is now in my cabinet and the centre figure is certainly 5, as is also the central figure of another coin of this king dated 758 which I also obtained from the latter gentleman. A reference to the plate published with Mr Thanawala's article will also show that the figure is 5. Mr Thanawala's collection contained another specimen dated 759. We thus can record silver *tanlas* of this king dated 757, 758, 759 and 760, and although the latter is open to relegation to the class of "posthumous" I think in view of the difference in the records of the historians quoted above, it is worthy of consideration. It may be

44 The Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India

By R B WHITEHEAD, I.C.S

INTRODUCTION.

Systematic research in that branch of Indian numismatics belonging to the issues of the Mughal Emperors of India, is a growth of quite recent date. Mr C J Rodgers of Amritsar was the first regular worker on these important coins, and a considerable number of papers on the subject from his pen appeared principally in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal between the years 1880 and 1895. But it was not till the latter year that his Catalogues of the Indian Museum and Lahore Museum Collections were completed. The British Museum Catalogue appeared in 1892. Contributions from other workers in the field were published from time to time, but the papers were scattered and are now difficult of access. Mr R Burn I.C.S., was the first to bring together and systematize this information and the result was embodied in his monograph 'The Mints of the Mughal Emperors' which appeared in the Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, for 1904. This contained Tables of Mints compiled from various sources, showing at what towns each separate emperor and claimant issued coin in each of the three metals. These Tables were prefaced by a brief Introduction, and Notes on important points in connection with some of the mint towns. It was remarked that although no attempt had been made to describe coin types and inscriptions still such Mint Lists are of use both to the historian as showing what places were included in the Mughal Empire at various periods and to the numismatist as a guide in ascertaining whether a coin of a particular mint is known or not.

I think that combined systematic and scientific work in the field of Mughal numismatics may be dated from the appearance of Mr Burn's Tables. Under the impetus of his excellent example, research has proceeded at a rapid rate. The first Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal appeared in 1904 under the editorship of Mr H Nelson Wright, I.C.S., and contained contributions from Mr R Burn, Dr G P Taylor of Ahmadabad, and from the editor. These Supplements have appeared at intervals since that year, and have absorbed much of the recent original work done on the numismatics of Northern India. Dr Codrington's "Manual of Musalman Numismatics," one of the

Royal Asiatic Society monographs, was also published in the year 1904, and contains much valuable information on Indian coins.

In the year 1906 appeared the first volume of the new Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, by Mr Vincent A Smith ICS (retired), on the pre-Muhammadan series and this has been followed by the second and third volumes dealing respectively with the issues of the Pathan Sultans of Dehli and their contemporaries, and with those of the Mughal Emperors of India. Both have been written by Mr H Nel on Wright, ICS. This new Catalogue has been conceived in a liberal spirit, is a first class work well illustrated with plates, and constitutes the last word on the subject. It is hoped that Catalogues on similar lines will be prepared for the Lahore, and Lucknow Collections, and if the British Museum brings out new Catalogues of its splendid Indo-Greek and Muhammadan Cabinets, the student of Indian numismatics will be very well equipped for his work. Another instrument of research is the recently founded Numismatic Society of India, which it is hoped will become a permanent and useful body.

Turning from this brief review of modern progress to the subject of this paper, many new Mughal coins have been published in the Numismatic Supplements. One or two other works bear more particularly on Mughal mints. I may mention the comprehensive list of mints in the 'Manual of Muslim Numismatics.' Dr G P Taylor's paper 'The Mints of the Mughal Emperors of India,' was written in 1904, and published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Then a review from the pen of Dr Taylor, of the Mint Lists of Mr Burn and Dr Codrington, appeared in the third Numismatic Supplement (J A S B, 1904). I must also mention the valuable monographs by the same author on the mint of Ahmadābād, and on that of Sūrat. A description of the coins of Cambay is in course of preparation, while papers on the mints of Agra and Lahore are contemplated. This method of attacking the subject is undoubtedly the most thorough and satisfactory, but will require much time and labour, and the collaboration of many workers.

It is evident that during the few years that have elapsed since the year 1904, the subject has increased considerably in magnitude, and the preparation of a new edition of Mr Burn's Tables has become necessary. I have undertaken to do this work, and have carried it out on lines similar to those followed by Mr Burn, but with certain differences. I have tapped all sources I have been able to discover, commencing as Mr Burn did, with the British Museum Catalogue. All mints found in it were noted, and other catalogues and papers were then searched, in the order shown below, and fresh mints have been marked as they were found. The entry of a coin from any

publication means its absence from the preceding ones. Lastly unpublished coins are shown; for private collections I am indebted to the courtesy of the owners, who have permitted me to mention their coins. I have endeavoured to give strict precedence to published coins, even when publication consists of nothing more than such cursory notices as are found in Sale Catalogues, and I have adhered to this rule even when I have known that coins coming much further down in the list, exist for instance in the British Museum, but have been acquired since the appearance of the Catalogue.

It is hoped that the new arrangement of the Tables will be found more convenient than the old one. All known coins of each mint are now grouped directly under it, and there are no small supplementary groups. A few blank columns have been left for the insertion of new mints as they are discovered. I contemplate the periodical issue of correction and additions, and shall be glad if numismatists will kindly communicate such matter for publication.

Key to the References

Catalogue of the British Museum, 1892	B M
Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1908	I M
Catalogue of the Lahore Museum, Punjab, 1894	P.M.
Numismatic Supplements to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal	Roman Numerals.
J. G. Delmerick, 'Lists of Rare Muhammadan Coins' ..	J.A.S.B., 1875 Del (1)
J. Gibbs, C.S.I., 'Notes on the Zodiacal Rupees and Mohars of Jehanghir Shah' ..	J.R.A.S., 1878 G (1)
C. J. Rodgers, 'Couplets or Baits on the Coins of Shah Nūru-d-dīn Jahāngīr' ..	J.A.S.B., 1888 R (4)
C. J. Rodgers, 'On Miscellaneous Coins'	J.A.S.B., 1888 R (3)
W. Vost, 'On some rare Muhammadan Coins' ..	J.A.S.B., 1895 V. (1).
W. Vost, 'The Dogām Mint' ..	J.A.S.B., 1895 V. (2).
C. J. Rodgers, 'Mughal Copper Coins'	J.A.S.B., 1895 R (1).
C. J. Rodgers, 'Rare Mughal Coins'	J.A.S.B., 1896 R. (2).
R. Burn, 'A new Mint of Akbar' ..	Progs A.S.B., 1896 B. (1).
G. P. Taylor, 'The Coins of Ahmadabad'	J.R.A.S., 1900 T. (1). (Bombay Branch).

L. Dames, 'Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors'	Num. Chron. 1902 D. (1).	
Wolsley Haig, 'Note on a find of copper coins in the Wun District, Barār'	J A S B, 1902	H. (1)
G. P. Taylor, 'The Coins of Sūrat'	J R A S, 1907 (Bombay Branch)	T. (2)
Sale Catalogue of the Da Cunha Collection, London	..	D.C.
Sale Catalogue of the Coins of Mr Eugene Leggett, Karachi	..	L.
Sale Catalogue of the White King Collection	Amsterdam, 1905	K.
(Some of the rarer of the White King Coins were previously published in a paper entitled 'Some Novelties in Mughal Coins,' Num. Chron., 1896)		
Sale Catalogue of the Bourdillon Collection	Amsterdam, 1907	Bo

Unpublished Coins.

Collection of Mr H Nelson Wright, ICS (Bareilly)	W
Collection of Hon'ble Mr R Burn, ICS (Allahabad)	B
Collection of Rev G P Taylor, D D (Ahmadabad)	T
Collection of Mr R B Whitehead ICS (Lahore)	Wh
Collection of Mr Framji Phanawala (Bombay)	F
Collection of Sir John Stanley (London)	St
Collection of the Lucknow Museum	L M
Collection of the Nagpur Museum	Nag
Collection of Mr W E M Campbell, ICS (Lucknow)	Ca
Collection of Lieutenant Colonel Vost, I M S (Lucknow)	V
Collection of Mr Samuel Smith (Liverpool)	Sm
Bahawalpur State Toshakhana	Bah
Emended readings of coins in the British Museum Catalogue	B M
Collection of Mr G B Bleazby acquired by the British Museum in 1911	B M

The reference P M also includes coins contained in a new and enlarged Catalogue of the Coins in the Lahore Museum, which it is hoped will be published in 1913

In order to increase the accuracy and value of the new Tables, I have verified as far as possible the readings of the coins mentioned

A study of the British Museum Catalogue Plates will show that a few of the coins have been wrongly described. Some emendations which bear directly on the present subject are —

<i>Coin No</i>	<i>Emendation</i>
31	<i>Delete Sarangpūr</i>
61	<i>For Sahrind, read Shahr Pattan</i>
690 and 691	<i>Mints not legible</i>
726	<i>Gull andā not Calcutta</i>
860 and 874	<i>Mulapur not Sholapur</i>
893	<i>Purbandar</i>
902	<i>Not Gangpūr reading uncertain Mr Nelson Wright has suggested Kanjan kot</i>
946	<i>Farakhunda Bunyad Haidarabad Also published in Del (1)</i>
1011	<i>Delete Ajayūr' reading uncertain</i>

I have noted more fully on some important points in the Notes supplementary to this Introduction

As regards the attributions of rarities which I have not personally inspected a certain number of coins have had to be taken on trust but their number has been reduced to a minimum. Mr Nelson Wright has kindly co-operated with me in the work of verification. The following lists briefly show the results of the work in this direction

A Doubtful Mints omitted — Ajayur Sarangpur Butun Kharpur Diritaswar Nagar Sirsa Gangpur Wajhab Jaloonabad, Satgaon

Some of these such as Sarangpur Satgaon and Nagar have been misreadings. Others such as Ajayur Kharpur Sirsa and Gangpur have been attempts to interpret difficulties but are too uncertain to merit permanent record

B Mints unverified or not quite certain but included — Punch Ismailgarh Bandhu Didar Kanin Balapur Bsaui Gokulgarh (Dakhan) Khairagar Damla Kiratpur Madan Kot Jhansi Nahan

C Doubtful mints identified — Baldat Bikamir (Baldat i Safa) Gokulgarh (Punjab) (Dinggarh) Haidarabad (Daru Ijhad)

D Mints corrected — Dewal Bandar (Dewal) Salimabad (Salimgarh) Manghar (Manghur) Mirthar (Mirath) Najafgarh (Najibgarh) Ravishnagar (Krishnagar) Shahgarh Qanaui (Shergarh Qanaui)

E Mints omitted for various reasons — Burhanabad non Mughal Husainabad. I prefer to read this name as Hasaniabad

Nagpur read Nagor

Samarqand and Badakhshan coins struck by Babur before his invasion of India

gīrpūr, Chatarl ot, Chāmpanī Rānājī, Sīkandarābād, Sīrkot, Sītpūr, Shīkar ul Gah, Alamgīrnagar Kalīnjar Manghur, Hapūr. Of these I have included Budion Chāmpanī, and Sītpūr, and have given a reason for excluding Badakhshīn. One or two of the rest have been taken from the Da Cunha, and Leggett Sale Catalogues but though I have included new coins of known mints from these Catalogues I have thought it unwise in the absence of corroboration to admit new mints on their sole authority. As regards the remaining mints it is desirable that some should be submitted anew to a careful scrutiny, and I do not know of Mughal coins from any of them.

The result of a strict application of the above rules of election and elimination is that the revised number of Mughal mints is now two hundred precisely. An addition of every separate reference in the lists gives us the following comparative table —

	<i>Mints</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>E</i>
Mr Burn's List	187	150	514	182
New Lists	200	273	627	197

So in eight years the number of references to gold coins has nearly doubled itself there is a substantial increase in the record of known silver coins but copper has been almost stationary.

It is well known that many coins bearing the names of the later Mughal Emperors were not struck by their authority. For instance the Hon'ble East India Company struck millions of rupees in the name of Shāh Alam II. The rise of independent States which accompanied the gradual decay of the Mughal Empire was signalized by the issue of coin only nominally Mughal. In its earlier stages each new power preferred to shelter under the aegis of Delhi and to take advantage of what still remained of the old Mughal prestige by striking coin in the name of the regnant emperor and by imitating the imperial issues. These imitations can as a rule be distinguished by their style and the local devices they bear. So rises an important question in Mughal numismatics. It should be decided what are to be accepted as Mughal coins as distinguished from the early issues of Independent States and of the various East India Companies. A settlement may not be easy to discover, but an authoritative catalogue of the coins of Native States is called for and the question will have to be determined one way or another in the near future.

In his Introduction to Volume III of the new Indian Museum Catalogue Mr Nelson Wright has made a brief allusion to the matter. Based on his observations I have suggested that coins should be classed as belonging to imperial issues if they conform to the following criteria —

- (i) They should be of the imperial type and bear legible inscriptions,
- (ii) They should have legible mints, and their regnal and Hijri dates should be in accord,
- (iii) Local mint marks, devices, and symbols should be absent

My meaning will become more apparent if I cite one or two instances. Two new mints of Shah 'Alam II were published in N.S. XI—Ravishnagar Sagar, and Bilimgarh—both obviously non-imperial. They are essentially Native State coins as evinced by their style and the illegibility of the mint names, quite apart from the fact that they were not issued under Shah 'Alam's direct influence. Coins bearing the sun face of Indoro, or the trefoil of Jaipur, are not imperial. Again the power and influence of Muhammad Akbar II and Bahadur Shah II, were confined to Fort Delhi. The Delhi rupees of the latter emperor exhibit his title *میراج لدی* and may be called the imperial type. The coins struck in his name at other mints are quite different, and I see no reason for considering them to be Mughal coins at all.

It is clear that if the science of Mughal numismatics is to be placed on a firm and satisfactory basis, and if progress is to be made on definite lines, this question must be settled in a manner to gain general acceptance. The matter was discussed by a Coin Conference held at Allahabad in December 1910. It was pointed out that other features, in addition to those as suggested by me above, ought to be carefully scrutinized. The fabric and workmanship of a coin if crude and clumsy would be evidence of origin other than imperial. A coin with a collar rim, or milled edge could with confidence be assigned to an East India Company. Then too enquiry should be made whether history supplies corroborative evidence of a Mughal emperor having exercised direct control over the locality from which issued any coins assigned to him.

A decision on these lines would mean that each coin would have to be taken on its merits, and in the end experts would probably differ in their opinions. It would be impossible to reconcile individual taste and fancy even if it were possible in every case to obtain the requisite information. The only practical working plan is to lay down a hard and fast rule. Finally the Conference passed the following Resolution—

RESOLVED, that for the purpose of the compilation of a comprehensive treatise on the coins of the Mughal Emperors of India, it is advisable to confine the scope of the work to coins bearing the names of the Mughal Emperors which were struck up to and including the year A.D. 1803 (1218 A.H.), the date of the British

occupation of the capital Dehli. As this date is close to the end of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam II, and as many issues bearing the name of this emperor proceed unchanged till the end of the reign, it is convenient to regard these as Mughal during the period intervening between the year A D 1803 and the date of the death of Shah 'Ālam II. Only those coins of Muhammad Akbar II, and Bahādur Shāh II, shall be deemed Mughal issues, which were struck at Dehli (Shāh-jahanabad) ”

By the application of this rule some coins, which are obviously non imperial, will be admitted into the Mughal series, but only conventionally, and their number need not be large. The admission of such coins is better than the possible exclusion of true Mughal coins under some alternative principle. It is hoped that this convention will be generally adopted.

The mints which were included in Mr Burn's Tables, that disappear by the operation of this rule, are Sheopūr and Firozpūr only.

I append the following short notes on a few points of interest in connection with the mint towns.

AJMER—The remarkable zodiacal mohur of Jahāngir bearing the name of Nūr Jahān, which was struck at Ajmer, is deserving of special mention. It was published by the Hon'ble James Gibbs, C S I, in the J A S B for 1883. The zodiacal sign is Cancer and the obverse legend runs—

شاہ
بحکم
جہانگیر نواب صد رنہ
دہکم
رنام نور جہاں نادرشاہ
احمیر ۲۰
صرب ۱۰۳۴

The equally remarkable Sagittarius mohur at Paris, with the name of Nūr Jahān, of *Lāhor mint*, bears the same obverse inscription with the exception that the last line runs—

صرب لاہور ۱۰۳۵

As far as I know each coin is still unique, and they are the only known zodiacal coins struck at Ajmer and Lāhor respectively.

A Cancer mohur of dates 1034 A H, 20 R, of Kashmir mint, bearing the name of Nūr Jahan, was in the Da Cunha Collection.

SALIMABAD AJMER—Mr R Burn CS read the mint on a copper coin of Akbar dated 982 A H from the Ellis Collection now in the Lucknow Museum as Salimgarh Ajmer. But from a specimen discovered more recently I read the name as Salimabad Ajmer and this reading is supported by the existence of a later coin struck at Salimabad alone—see Paper 80, NS VIII. I find that the two Salimabad Ajmer coins are identical. Mr Nelson Wright has a third and Mr Bleasby had a fourth. The reading Salimābād is I think to be preferred to Salimgarh.

ARKAT—Arkat rupees of Jahandar Shah (Paper 84 NS XIV) and of Shāh Alam Bahādur I (Paper 69 NS VI) have already been published. The dates of the latter coin are 1122 A H 4 R, but an even earlier rupee (1120 A H 2 R) was in the Collection of Mr Eugene Leggett Karachi.

ISLAM BANDAR—A rupee of Aurangzeb of the usual couplet type struck at Islam Bandar has been for some time in the Cab net of Dr G P Taylor at Ahmadābad. A probable duplicate belongs to Mr Nelson Wright. Dr Taylor has shown that Islam Bandar was the name given to Rājapur (راجہ پور), a tidal port on the Konkan Coast thirty miles south east of Ratnagiri town.

AKBARABAD—In a paper entitled *Rare Mughal Coins* (J A S B 1896) Mr C J Rodgers described and illustrated a copper coin bearing the name of Shah Jahan but undated and struck at Akbarabad. The inscriptions are those usually found on the large copper coins of Shah Jahan I of Akbarabad mint but the general style and the arrangement and form of the letters especially on the mint side are different and I should be inclined on these grounds alone to attribute the coin to Shah Jahan II. But I find that the reverse (the mint side) is very similar to that of the copper Akbarabad coin of Farrukhsiyar published by me in NS XV. I have therefore shown this coin in the new Tables as belonging to Shah Jahan II and as such it is the first copper coin to be attributed to this emperor. A second is one of Surat mint—see below.

BANDHU—I had a thick dumpy rupee of Akbar without date which bore a new couplet. The legends probably ran thus—

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
لله اکبر	برابر
— — — — —	— — — — —
روح	باند
	— — — — —
	بود ما

So the couplet would be —

رواج سکہ اللہ اکبر
نور مافعدہ دہو برادر

Mr Nelson Wright C S possessed a duplicate but unfortunately both have been lost. The reading is fairly straight forward except the name of the mint which Mr Nelson Wright has suggested may be Bandhu (or Bandhigarh) in Rewah or the tract known formerly as Bhata. This fortress is mentioned several times in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. It was captured after a siege of over eight months in Akbar's 42^d year.

BALDAT I SAFA — Several rupees of Alamgir II were known of a mint tentatively read as Baldat-i-Safa. There seems to be no doubt that this is really Baldat Bikanir—see V S XI and V S XV Papers 69 and 83.

BALKH — In the Bleazby Collection recently acquired by the British Museum there is a remarkable gold coin of Shah Jahan of Balkh mint the name being clear and unmistakable. The coin is of the usual square area type and the mint is in the reverse bottom margin counting the kalima side as the obverse. The date is 1057 A H. This coin is so far a unique specimen bearing numismatic testimony to the Mughal conquest of Balkh in A D 1647—see Manucci's *Storia Del Mogor* Vol I p 185 and Elphinstone Book X Chap II.

PATTAN — Pattan is a town in the present Baroda State and was the capital of Gujarat from about A.D. 750 till the founding of Ahmadabad in A.D. 1411—see *Imperial Gazetteer of India* Vol XX pp 24-25. In Akbar's time the place was known as Anhalwara Pattan or Nahrwala Pattan. Pattan is given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as a copper mint of Akbar. Quite recently it has been discovered that Akbar's coins struck at Pattan exist in all three metals. Colonel Vost in V S XI published rupees of the Ahmadabad type struck at Nahrwala Pattan in A H 984. One or two dams also of A H 984 are known of Pattan with its epithet of *Shahr*. They are exactly similar in style to the Ahmadabad copper coins of the same year. Lastly there can be little doubt that gold muhar Pl III 61 of the British Museum Catalogue of Mughal Coins is of *Shahr-i-Pattan* mint and not of Sahrind as previously read. The new attribution is supported by the fact that this muhar is dated 984 and is of the Ahmadabad fabric.

DEWAL BANDAR — A rupee of Akbar of Dewal mint was first published in the paper 'Some Novelties in Mughal Coins'—*Nuri Chron* 1896. But fuller specimens show that the name of the mint town is Dewal Bandar. This was a port on the coast of Sind.

ZAINU L-BILAD — Zainu l-bilad is the name of a mint found on silver coins of Muhamma l-Shah but we do not know as yet

what town or place was meant. Its close resemblance to the honorific epithet *Zinatu l bilad* adopted by *Rafi u d darjat* for Ahmadabad, would point to this city. The coins are usually of regnal years four, five and six. A half rupee of Muhammad Shah struck at Ahmadabad in regnal year one is known, and rupees of year eight and later regnal years are fairly common, but no Ahmadabad silver coins have yet been found struck in the regnal years covered by the *Zainu l bilad* series.

SURAT—There is a copper coin of Surat mint in the Cabinet of Dr G P Taylor Ahmadabad, which can be attributed with certainty to Shah Jahan II. Its dates are 1131 A.H., 1 R., and the inscriptions are as follows—

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
شاه جهان	لحد
شاه	سنة حلوس
ملک ناد ۱۰۰۳۱	صرب
	صوب

FATHABAD—The full name of Fathabad mint is Fathabad Dharur (Dharwar)—see \ S II and \ S VIII.

FATHPUR.—In his paper 'Notes on the Zodiacal Rupee and Mohars of Jehanghir Shah' published in the *J.A.S.B.* for 1878, the Hon ble James Gibbs C.S.I. mentions a mohur and a rupee of Fathpur mint. They both exhibit the sign of Aries and bear the same date 1030 A.H. The author does not give any further details. The coins belonged to Colonel Guthrie and are now presumably at Berlin.

Mr C J Rodgers described another zodiacal rupee of Fathpur mint—see paper 'Couplets or Baits on the Coins of Shah Nuru-d din Jahangir' *J.A.S.B.* 1888. The zodiacal sign was Capricornus underneath which was سنة ۱۰۴۱ ح.س. The couplet on the obverse side was—

بعد پیر سر سده گشت مکه در
 در نور نام جهان سر شاه اکبر ۱۰۴۸

Coin of gold became bright at Fathpur
 Through the light of the name of Jalal-ud Din son of
 Shah Akbar.

Mr Rodgers at the time of writing said that the coin was in his possession but I do not know where it is now. It is not in the British Museum.

KALPI KORA AND KUNCH—Rupees bearing the name of Shah Alam II are found in the neighbourhood of Jhansi, of mints Kalpi Kora, Kunch and of one or two other mints as yet unread. They bear a strong family likeness to each other,

are of the usual couplet type, are Native State coins in style, and are remarkable for the presence of an additional word after the mint name, which comes at the bottom of the coin. This has been read and I think correctly as 'hijrī'. I notice that some at least of these coins exhibit both regnal and hijrī dates on the mint side, in addition to the hijrī date on the obverse. This fact affords a reasonable explanation for the presence of this unusual word, on some rupees of Shah Jahan.

GULSHANĀBĀD—Dr G P Taylor has tentatively attributed a rupee of Farrukhsiyar to a new mint Gulshanabad—N S XIV, Paper 84. This has been confirmed by the discovery of a second and similar rupee of this mint which is in my own Cabinet.

MANGHAR—I prefer the reading Manghar for Dr White King's Manghir—see N S V, Paper 39.

MUHAMMADNAGAR—This mint name of Shah 'Ālam II has another word coming after it, which Mr Burn has suggested may be بادنه—see his Introduction to "The Mints of the Mughal Emperors". It cannot be read with certainty on either of the two known specimens.

MULTAN—Mr Nelson Wright C S possesses a unique rupee of Shah 'Ālam I Multan mint with the following legends—

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
محمد	مانوس
عالم دادشاه	صمد
۱۱۱۹	
— — — — —	احد
بر مہر و ماہ حامی س	سند خلوس
مکتبہ	صرب
رد در عقب کشور	ملتان

This is quite a new type of the coins of Shah 'Ālam I. The couplet strikingly anticipates that adopted by Shah 'Ālam II, and shows that both these emperors had the same *laqab* حامی دی.

MANDISOR—The new mint of Mandisor is associated with an honorific epithet *Dāru-s salām*.

MIRATH—I have preferred the reading Mirtha for Mirath—see Mr Nelson Wright's Mint Note in the Introduction to I M Cat Vol III.

EM FROM	ادو		ایک		ایک	
	ITA RA		ایک		ایک	
	A	R	I	A	R	I
1 Ba url						
2 Humayun						
3 Al bar						
4 Jal ang r						
5 Jahang r and Nur Jahan						
6 Dawar Bakl s						
7 Shā Jahan						
8 Aurangzeb Alamg r	B M	B				
9 Murad Ba hsh						
10 Shāl Shuja						
11 Shah Alam Bal adur	N L	I M				
12 A zam Sī ah						
13 Kām Bakl s						
14 Jahandar Sī al	P M	I M				
15 A mu al shan						
16 Farru s yar	I M	B M				
17 Raf u-d darjat		I M				
18 Raf u-d-daula (Shah Jal an II)		I M				
19 Mu ammad Ibrēh m						
20 Mu a mmad Shah	B M	B M			P M	
21 Al mad Shah Bahadur	XI	I M				
22 Ala ng r II	St	I M				
23 Shāl Jahan III						
24 Sī ah Alam II		B M				
25 Bedar Bakht						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

			UJAIN.		
IMPEROR			UJAIN.		
			A	B	C
1. Bābur	..	..	.	.	—
2 Humāyūn	..	..	..	K	..
3. Akbar	..	..	..	I M	I M.
4. Jahangir	..	..	..	L M	
5 Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān	..	..	.
6 Dāwar Bahāsh	..	..	..	..	..
7 Shāh Jahān	..	..	B	LM	LM
8 Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir ..	..	..	..	I M	I M P M.
9 Murād Bahāsh	..	..	..	..	..
10 Shāh Shujā'	..	..	..	.	.
11 Shāh 'Ālam Bahadur..	..	..	B M	P M	..
12. A'zam Shāh	.	..	..	L M	..
13. Kām Bahāsh	.	..	.
14 Jahandar Shah	..	..	.	T	
15 'Azimush-shan	..	..	..	..	.
16. Farrukhsiyar	.	..	XI	P M	
17. Rafi' u-d-darjāt	..	..	..	XIV	
18 Rafi' u-d-daula (Shah Jahān II) ..	..	..	B.M.		.
19. Muhammad Ibrahim	..	..	..	.
20. Muhammad Shāh	..	..	I M	P M.	
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur	..	..	.	.
22 'Ālamgir II	..	..	..	W	
23. Shah Jahān III	..	..	..	..
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	..	..	..	LM.	.
25 Bedār Bahāsh	..	..	..	..
26. Akbar II	..	..	..	..	.
27 Bahādur II	..	..	..	..	..

F. M. K. R. O. R.	ادوبی			ادیبو		
	ADONI.			UDAIRŪ		
	A	R	E	A	R	E
1. Babur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	B M	..	..
4. Jahāngīr			R(1)
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh
7. Shāh Jahān	P M.
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr	..	F	..	..	..	..
9. Murād Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakḥsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azimu-sh-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar
17. Rafī' u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī' u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II
25. Badār Bakḥsh
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

IMPERIAL	URDU			ISLAM ABAD		
	A	B	T	A	B	T
1 Babur						
2 Humayun						
3 Akbar						
4 Jalalpur						
5 Jalalpur and Nur Jahan						
6 Dewar Bahadur						
7 Shah Jalal						
8 Aurangzeb Alamgir				IM	IM	
9 Mirza Bahadur						
10 Shah Shuja						
11 Shah Alam Bahadur		IM				
12 Azam Shah						
13 Kān Bahadur						
14 Jalalpur Shah		PM				
15 Azim-ul-Shah						
16 Farrukhsyahr	NI	BM		BM	PM	
17 Rafi-ud-darjat						
18 Rafi-ud-daula (Shah Jahan II)	PM				PM	
19 Muhammad Ibrahim						
20 Muhammad Shah	NI	IM		LM	BM	
21 Ahmad Shah Bahadur		T		Bo	PM	
22 Alamgir II	BM	BM		PM	NI	
23 Shah Jahan III				BM		
24 Shah Alam II		BM	BM	BM	Wh	R(1)
25 Bedar Bahadur						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

[illegible]

اعظم مکر

EMPEROR	اعظم نگار		اعظم نگار گز	
	A'ZAMNAGAR.	A'ZAMNAGAR GOKUL-ABUL		
	V	R	E	N
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dawar Baksh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr	..	XV.	K	..
9. Murād Baksh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Baksh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīm-ush shān
16. Farrukhsiyar	..	B.M	..	XIV.
17. Rafī' u d darjāt
18. Rafī' u d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muhammad Ibrahim
20. Muhammad Shāh	P.M.
21. Ahmad Shah Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II
25. Badār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

J MEEBOL	اکبرنگر AKBARNAGAR			اکبر AKBAR		
	A	R	F	A	R	F
1 Bab r					I M	I M
2 Humayun					P.M	I M
3 Akbar	P M	L M	B	B M	B M	B M
4 Jal ang r		B M		B M	B M	B M
5 Jah ngir and Nur Jahan		L M			B M	
6 D w r Bakhs						
7 Shah Jaha r	N I	B M		I M	B M	
8 Aurangzeb Alan g r	B M	B M	B M			
9 Murad I akhs						
10 Shah Si oje		L M				
11 Shah Alam Bahadur		I M	B			
12 Az am Si kh						
13 Karu Bakhs						
14 Jahandar Shah		B M				
15 Az mu-sh shan						
16 Farrukhs yar		W				
17 Raf u-d-darjat						
18 Rafi u-d daula (Shah Jahan II)						
19 M I ammad Ibrahim						
20 Mu I ammad Shah		L M				
21 Al mad Shah Bahadur		I M				
22 Alamgir II		I M				
23 Shah Jahan III						
24 Sha Alam II						
25 Bedar Bakht						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

[illegible]

اصیاریگزہ

امیرگزہ

EMPEROR.

IMTIAZGARAN

AMIRKOP.

		A	R	E	A	R	E
1. Bābur	.	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Humāyūn	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Akbar	..	..	..	..	..	..	I.M.
4. Jahāngir	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Jahāngir and Nur Jahān	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Dāwar Baksh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Shāh Jahān	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr	..	..	P.M.	..	..	..	..
9. Murād Baksh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Shāh Shujā'	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur	..	..	T	..	..	..	..
12. A'zam Shāh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Kām Baksh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14. Jahāndār Shāh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15. 'Azīmū sh-shān	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16. Farrukhshiyar	B.M.	XIII.	..	..	..	..	..
17. Rafī'ū-d darjāt	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18. Rafī'ū-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20. Muhammad Shāh	B.M.	..	..	..	..	..	..
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur	..	I.M.	..	..	..	..	..
22. 'Ālamgīr II	B.M.	B.M.	..	..	..	..	..
23. Shāh Jahān III	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25. Badār Bakht	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26. Akbar II	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27. Bahādur II	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

[illegible]

LAKHOR.	اورچھا ORCHHA			اورنگ آباد AURANGABAD		
	A	R	I	A	R	P
1 B b r						
2 H nuy						
3 Akl r						
4 Jal u g r						
5 Jal ang r a d Nur Jal an						
6 Dewar Bahjsh						
7 St al Jal an						
8 Aurang eb Al ng r				BM	BM	1
9 Mur l Bakhsl						
10 Shah Si uja						
11 Shah Alam Bahadur						
12 A zam Shal						
13 Kam Bakt sl						
14 Jal andar Shah						
15 Az n u sl sl an						
16 Farr kls yar						
17 Raf u d darjat						
18 Raf u d-da a (Shah Jahan II)						
19 Muhammad Ibrah m						
20 M lammad St al				PM		
21 Ahmad Shah Bahadur						
22 Alamg r II						
23 Shah Jahan III						
24 St al Alam II	IM	BM				
25 Bedār Bakt t						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

اورنگ نگر

AURANGNAGAR

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EMPEROR.	ایلیچپور ELICHPUR.			بالاپور BALAPUR.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	XL	XL	..
4. Jahāngir	P.M.	..	..	..	..
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Baksh..
7. Shāh Jahān	L	..	..	..
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir	I.M.	H(1)	..	..	..
9. Murād Baksh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shah 'Ālam Bahādur	P.M.	H(1)	..	..	..
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Baksh
14. Jahāndār Shāh	K	..	..	..	..
15. 'Azīm-ush-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar	I.M.	..	..	..	..
17. Rafi'ud darjāt
18. Rafi'ud-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh	VIII	I.M.	D(1)	..	..
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur	H(1)	..	..	..
22. 'Ālamgir II	H(1)	..	..	..
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	H(1)	..	..	..
25. Bealār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

بالا بگر گزها

باندھو

بداون

* BĀLĪNAGARGADHA.

BĀNDHĪ.

BUDĀON.

[illegible]

L I PFROR	برج اندرپور BRAJ INDRAPUR		بر BARODA			
	A	R	L	A	R	E
1 Babur						
2 Humāy n						
3 Akbar						
4 Jahangir						
5 Jahang r and Nur Jahan						
6 Dawar Bakhsh						
7 Shah Jahan						
8 A rangzeb Alamgir						
9 Mured Bakhsh						
10 Shah Shuja						
11 Shah Alam Bahadur						
12 A zam Shah						
13 Kam Bakhsh						
14 Jahandar Shah						
15 Azimu sh al an						
16 Farrukh siyar						
17 Rafi u d darjat						
18 Rafi u d daula (Shah Jal an II)						
19 Mul ammad Ibra m						
20 Mul ammad Shah						
21 Ahmad Shah Bahadur						
22 Alamgir II						
23 Shah Jahan III						
24 Shah Alam II		LM			BM	PM
25 Bedar Bakhsh						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

EMPEROR.	سولی BISAULI.			بکاور Bikātra.		
	A	B	E	A	B	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakshah
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr
9. Murād Bakshah
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakshah
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīmu sh-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar
17. Rafī'u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II).
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II	XI.	..
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	K	..	..	..	..
25. Badār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

[illegible]

EMPEROR.	ہندوستان					
	ہندوستان			موسس آباد ہندوستان		
	HINDURAN.			HINDURAN MEMORIAL.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
3. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngir
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Baksh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir
9. Murād Baksh
10. Shāh Shujā
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Baksh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīmū sh-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar
17. Rafi'ū-d-darjūt
18. Rafi'ū-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgir II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shah 'Ālam II	P M	..	P.M.	..
25. Badār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

بندر شاہی BANDAR SHAHI			بنکاپور BANKAPUR			بنگالہ BANGALA		
N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ
1								
2								
3		PM					IM	
4								
5								
6								
7								
8				XV				
9								
10								
11				T				
12								
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15								
16				XIV				
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EMPEROR.	بہادر پٹی BAHĀDURPATAN.			بہادر گڑھ BAHĀDURGARRH.		
	A	B	E	A	B	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Baksh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr
9. Murād Baksh
10. Shāh Shujā
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur	T	..
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Khām Baksh
14. Jahāndār Shāh	P.M	..
15. 'Azīm al-shāh
16. Farrukhsiyar	K	..
17. Rafī'u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī'u d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muhammed Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	B.M	..	..	..	..
25. Badār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

بہرائچ BAHRĀICH.			بہر پور BHARATPUR.			بہراج BHAROCH.		
N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
1								
2								
3		I.M						
4								
5								
6								
7								
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11				8				
12								
13								
14		-						
15								
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18								
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22							L	
23								
24				K	h			
25								
26								
27								

EMPEROR.	ہندوستان BHARAT.			ہندوستان BHARAT.		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Bābur						
2. Humāyūn						
3. Akbar		P M.	W			
4. Jahāngir						
5. Jahāngir and Nur Jahān						
6. Dawar Baksh						
7. Shah Jahan		B M				
8. Aurangzeb Alamgir		I M				
9. Murād Baksh						
10. Shāh Shujā						
11. Shāh Alam Bahādur						
12. Azam Shah						
13. Kān Baksh						
14. Jahandar Shah		XV				
15. Azimush shan						
16. Farrukhsiyar		B M				
17. Rafi u-d-darjat						
18. Rafi u-d-daula (Shah Jahan II)						
19. Muḥammad Ibrahim						
20. Muḥammad Shāh		P M	P M			
21. Ahmad Shah Bahādur		P M.				
22. Ālamgir II						
23. Shah Jahan III						
24. Shah Alam II					K	
25. Bedar Bakht						
26. Akbar II						
27. Bahadur II						

بہلسہ BHILSA.			بیجا پور BIJĀPŪR.			بیواتہ BAIRĀTA.		
N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ
1.
2.
3.	I.M.	B.M.
4.	XI	I.M.
5.
6.
7.	XI.	I.M.	I.M.
8.	..	P.M	B.M.	B.M.	R(1)	R(1)
9
10.
11.	D(1)	Wh.
12.
13.	B.M
14.	W	Wh.
15.
16.	B.M.	..	K
17.
18.
19.
20.
21.
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25.
26.
27.

EMPEROR.	پانیپت					پتن			پتن دہو		
	PANIPAT.					PATTAN			PATTAN DEO.		
	A	B	E	N		A	E	A	A	E	
1. Babur	
2. Humayūn	
3. Akbar	BM		XI	T	..	..	..
4. Jahāngir	
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān	
6. Dāwar Bahsh	
7. Shāh Jahān	B	P.M.	..	
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir	
9. Murād Bahsh	
10. Shāh Shujā'	
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur	
12. A'zam Shāh	
13. Kām Bahsh	
14. Jahāndār Shāh	
15. 'Azimu-sh-shān	
16. Farrukhsiyar	
17. Rafi'ud-darjāt	
18. Rafi'ud-daula (Shāh Jahān II)	
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm	
20. Muhammad Shāh	
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur	
22. 'Ālamgir II	
23. Shāh Jahān III	
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	..	P.M.	..	..		..	..	..	..	..
25. Bedar Bahsh	
26. Akbar II	
27. Bahadur II	

EMPEROR.	پنج PŪNCH.			پشاور PESHĀWAR.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur	
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahangir
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh
7. Shāh Jahān	L	..
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr	..	T	..	.	XV.	..
9. Murad Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh'Ālam Bahādur*	.	B.M.	P.M.	..
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakḥsh
14. Jahandār Shāh	P.M.	.
15. 'Azīm-sh-shān
16. Farrukhsayar	XI	P.M.	..
17. Rafī'u-d darjāt	P.M.		..
18. Rafī'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II).
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm	
20. Muhammad Shāh	P.M.	P.M.	..
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur		P.M.
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II
25. Badār Bakht	
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

	فٹا			تورگل			حالد پور		
	FATTA			TORAGAL			JALNA PŪR		
	N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
1.	.	K	.			..			
2.									
3.		B M							
4.		B M					.	P M	
5.									
6									
7.	I M	B M							
8.	B M	I M		W	T		.		
9									
10									
11.	XI	P M		P M	XV				
12									
13					II				
14.		P M							
15.									
16		P M			T				
17									
18		P M							
19.									
20	P M	P M							
21.					L M	..			
22.									
23									
24									
25									
26									
27									

IMPEROR.

جلال پور
JALALPUR

جلال نگر
JALALNAGAR

	A	B	C	A	B	C
1 Babur						
2 Humāyun						
3 Akbar			V(1)			W
4 Jahangir						
5 Jahangir and Nur Jahan						
6 Dawar Baksh						
7 Shah Jahan						
8 Aurangzeb Alamgir						
9 Mured Baksh						
10 Shah Shuja						
11 Shah Alam Bahadur						
12 Azam Shāh						
13 Kam Baksh						
14 Jahandar Shāh						
15 Azim-us-shan						
16 Farrukhsyar						
17 Rafi u-d-darjat						
18 Rafi u d-daula (Shah Jahan II)						
19 Muhammad Ibrāh m						
20 Muhammad Shāh						
21 Ahmad Shah Bahadur						
22 Alamgir II						
23 Shāh Jahan III						
24 Shāh Alam II						
25 Bedar Bakht						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

	جلالہ	جموں	جانی
	JALAIN	JAMMUN	JINJI
	A	B	C
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.	IM		
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			XIV
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			
13.			
14.			
15.			
16.			
17.			
18.			
19.			
20.			
21.			
22.			
23.		IM	
24.			
25.			
26.			
27.			

EMPEROR.	جوهپور JODHPUR.			جولپور JAUNPÜR.		
	N	R	E	N'	R	E
1 Babur					PM	
2 Humayun						LM
3 Akbar				BM	BM	BM
4 Jahangir						
5 Jahangir and Nur Jahan						
6 Dawar Baksh						
7 Shah Jahan						
8 Aurangzeb Alamgir				BM	K	
9 Murad Baksh						
10 Shah Shuja						
11 Shah Alam Bahadur						
12 Azam Shah						
13 Ham Baksh						
14 Jahandar Shah						
15 Azimushshan						
16 Farrukhsyar						
17 Raf'ud darjat						
18 Raf'ud daula (Shah Jahan II)						
19 Mulammad Ibrahim						
20 Muhammad Shah						
21 Ahmad Shah Bahadur		PM				
22 Alamgir II		K				
23 Shah Jahan III						
24 Shah Alam II		PM				
25 Bedar Bakht						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

EMPEROR.	جی پور JAIPUR.			چنار CHUNAR.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	L.M.	P.M.
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr
9. Murād Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakḥsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Aẓīmu-sh-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar
17. Rafī'u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muḥammad Shāh	XL	B.M.	..	..	..	..
21. Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur	XI.	LM	..	..	..	..
22. 'Ālamgīr II	LM.	LM.	..	..	..	..
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	LM.	LM.	K	..	..	..
25. Bedār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

چندانیو
CRANFANIL

چیلٹارپور
CHILTARPUH

چھاپڑولی
CHHACHRAULI

[illegible]

EMPEROR.	چیتور CHITOR.			چینا پٹن CHINAPATAN		
	A	R	L	A	R	E
1. Bābur						
2 Humayun						
3 Akbar			IM			
4. Jahangir						
5 Jahangir and Nur Jahan						
6. Dawar Baksh						
7 Shah Jahan						
8 Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir				BM	BM	
9 Murad Baksh						
10 Shāh Shuja						
11 Shāh Ālam Bahadur					LM	
12 Azam Shāh						
13 Kām Baksh						
14 Jahandar Shāh						
15 Azimu sh-shāh						
16 Farrukhayer					BM	
17 Rafi u-d-darjat						
18 Rafi u-d-daula (Shāh Jahan II)						
19 Muḥammad Ibrāhīm						
20 Muḥammad Shāh					XV	
21 Aḥmad Shāh Bahadur						
22 Ālamgir II						
23. Shāh Jahan III						
24. Shāh Ālam II						
25 Bedar Bakht						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

<div>حاحی پور</div> <div>HACHĪ PŪR</div>			<div>حاحی آباد</div> <div>HACHĪĀBĀD</div>			<div>حس آباد</div> <div>HASANĀBĀD</div>		
A	R	L	A	R	L	A	R	L
1.								
2.								
3.	V							
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.								
9.								
10.								
11.								
12.								
13.								
14.								
15.								
16.								
17.								
18.								
19.								
20.					V(1)			
21.					R(1)			
22.								
23.							W	PM
24.								
25.								
26.								
27.								

EMPEROR	حصار					
	حصار HĪṢAN.			حصار سرورۃ HĪṢAN FĪRŪZA		
	Δ	Α	Æ	Δ	Α	Ε
1 Babur						
2 Humayun						
3 Akbar		W	P.M		VI	P.M
4 Jahāngīr						
5 Jahāngīr and Nur Jahān						
6 Dawar Bakī sh						
7 Shah Jalāl						
8 Aurangzob Ālāng r						
9 Murād Bakī sh						
10 Shah Shuja						
11 Shah Ālam Bahadur						
12 Āzam Shah						
13 Kām Bakī sh						
14 Jahandar Shāh						
15 Āz mu-sh shān						
16 Farrukhsiyar						
17 Rafī u d darjāt						
18 Rafī u-d dā la (Shāh Jahan II)						
19 Muḥ a nmad Ibrāh m						
20 Muḥammad Shāh						
21 Ahmad Shāh Bahadur						
22 Ālāng r II						
23 Shah Jahan III						
24 Shāh Ālam II						
25 Bedar Bakī sh						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

حیدرآباد HAIDARABAD			حیدرآباد HIDRABAD			حیدرآباد HAIRABAD		
N	R	L	A	R	L	A	R	L
1.								
2								
3								Wh
4								
5.								
6								
7								
8	PM	IM	R(1)	BM	BM			
9								
10								
11	PM	IM	K	BM	IM			
12				BM	XV			
13	BM	K						
14		W		BM	LM			
15								
16	XI	PM		B	IM			
17				PM	PM			
18	BM*			PM	F			
19								
20	BM	XI		BM	PM			
21					F			
22					T			
23								
24								
25								
26				.				
27								

EMPEROR.	خیبر پور KHAIROPUR.			خیبرنگر KHAINAGAR.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Babur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	I.M.	..	..	..
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr	K	..
9. Murād Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh' Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakḥsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh	I.M.	..		..
15. 'Agīmu sh-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar
17. Rafī'u-d-darjās
18. Rafī'u-d-daule (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muḥammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II
25. Bedār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

دادار.
DĀDAR.

داملا.
DĀMLA.

دلشاد آباد.
DILSHĀDĀBĀD.

	N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
1.
2.
3.
4.	
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.
17.
18.
19.
20.
21.
22.	T	..
23.
24.	.	.	B.M.	..	..	R(1)	..	B.M.	B.M.
25.
26.
27.

دوکړ دولت آباد
 DOKOR, DAULATABAD.
 EMPEROZ.

	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	B.M.	..	..	..
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān	
6. Dāwar Pakīsh
7. Shāh Jahān	V(2)	B.M.	B.M.	..
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr
9. Murād Bakīsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakīsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīm-ah shāh
16. Farrukhīyār
17. Rafī'u d darjāt
18. Rafī'u d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	W	P.M.
25. Badār Bakīsh
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

دهلی			دیر		دیرجہاں			
DEHLI			DEBA		DEBAJĀT			
A	R	E	A	R	E	A	R	E
1								
2		I M	I M					
3	B.M	B M	B M					
4	P M.	L M	P M					
5								
6								
7		B M.	I M.					
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								
16								
17								
18								
19								
20							P M	
21			VI	P M.		P M	IV	
22				P M				
23								
24								
25								
26								
27								

Emperor.	دهرگز			دهرل بندر		
	DZOGARH.			DEWAL BANDAR.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	P.M.	..
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Baksh
7. Shah Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr
9. Murād Baksh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. Azam Shāh
13. Kām Baksh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīm-ush-shāh
16. Farrukhsiyar
17. Rafī'u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī'u d daula (Shāh Jahān II).
19. Muhammed Ibrāhīm
20. Muḥammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	P.M.	..	..	..
25. Badār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

EMPEROR.	زین الملک ZAINU-L-BILĀD.			سانبر SĪMBHAR.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bak̄hsh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr	K	..
9. Murād Bak̄hsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bak̄hsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīmū sh-shān
16. Farruk̄hshyar
17. Rafī'u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II).
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh	P.M.	..	..	..	.
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shah 'Ālam II
25. Badār Bak̄ht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

ستارا SATĀRĀ.			سرورج SIRONJ.			سری نگر SRINAGAR.		
N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
1.
2.
3.	VI	..	I.M.	I.M.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.	..	T	..	..	..	..	.	..
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.	P.M.	..	..	..	..
17.
18.
19.
20.	..	XIII.	..	XIV.	..	..	..	..
21.
22.	W	..	..	..	..
23.
24.	P.M.	..	..	B.M.*	..
25.
26.
27.

1 Roman numeral.

* Srinagar in Garhwāl.

EMPEROR	سعد نگر SA D'NAGAR			سليم آباد SALIMABAD		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1 Babar						
2 Humayun						
3 Akbar						XIII.
4 Jahāngir						
5 Jahangir and Nur Jahan						
6 Dawar Bahsh						
7 Shah Jahān						
8 Aurangzeb Alamgir						
9 Murad Bahsh						
10 Shah Shuja						
11 Shah Alam Bahadur						
12 Azam Shāh						
13 Kam Bahsh						
14 Jahandar Shah						
15 Azimush-shan						
16 Farrukhsyar		P.M.				
17 Rafi u-d-darjat						
18 Rafi u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)						
19 Muhammad Ibrahim						
20 Muhammad Shah						
21 Ahmad Shāh Bahadur						
22 Ālamgir II						
23 Shah Jahān III						
24 Shāh Ālam II						
25 Bedar Bahsh						
26 Albar II						
27 Bahādur II						

سنبھل SAMBHAL.			سند SIND			سورت SURAT.		
N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
1	
2.
3	..	XV	..			..	P M	..
4.	P.M.	P.M.
5.	B.M.	B.M.	..
6.
7.	B.M.	B.M	R(1)
8.	B.M	B.M	P.M
9
10.
11.	I.M.	B.M.	T(2)
12.	P.M.	—
13.
14.	B.M.	I M	T(2)
15.
16		I.M.	B.M	K
17.	.	.	.			I M	T(2)	T(2)
18.			XI.	B M	T
19
20	..	.	P M	..		B.M.	B.M.	R(1)
21.	T(2)	..
22.		I.M	..
23.	I.M.	..
24.	B.M	B.M.	..
25.
26.
27.

EMPEROR	سہارنپور SAHARANPŪR.			سہرند SAHURIND.		
	N	E	R	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	LM.	D.C.		LM.
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakhsh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr	..	W	..	..	I M.	..
9. Murād Bakhsh
10. Shāh Shujā'		
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur	LM.	..
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakhsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh	P.M.	..
15. 'Azīmu-sh-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar	XI.	P.M.	..
17. Rafī'ud-darjāt	D(1)	..
18. Rafī'ud daula (Shāh Jahān II)	P.M.	..
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm	
20. Muhammad Shāh	XI.	LM.	..
21. Ahmad Shah Bahādur	XI.	LM.	..
22. 'Ālamgīr II		XI	LM.	..
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	..	P.M.	LM.		..	..
25. Badār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

قموج						شاہ جہاں آباد SHAHJAHANABAD		
شاہ آباد قنوج SHAHĀBĀD QANAUJ			شاہ گڑھ قنوج SHAHGARH QANAUJ					
N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ
1								
2								
3					IM			
4								
5								
6						BM	BM	XV
7						BM	BM	PM
8								
9								
10						BM	BM	XV
11								
12								
13						BM	BM	
14								
15								
16						BM	BM	
17						BM	BM	
18						BM	IM	
19						BM	BM	
20	VI	BM				BM	BM	R(1)
21		D(1)				BM	BM	
22		PM				BM	BM	PM
23		K				PM	BM	
24		BM				BM	BM	PM
25						BM	BM	
26						IM	BM	IM
27							BM	

EMPEROR.	سیکول Sikul.			سفرنامہ Zafar-nāma.		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngir
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Baksh
7. Shāh Jahān	P.M.	..
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir	P.M.	B.M.	..
9. Murād Baksh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur ..	B	..	..	..	..	..
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Baksh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīm-eh-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar ..	P.M.	..	..	..	..	..
17. Rafi'u-d-darjāt
18. Rafi'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II).
19. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muḥammad Shāh
21. Alunad Shah Bahādur	P.M.	..	..	..	..
22. 'Ālamgir II	XII	..
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	D.C.	..	..
25. Bedār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

EMPEROR.	مظہر آباد 'Āgimābād.			فتح آباد دھاروڑ FATU'ĀBĀD DHĀRUṢ.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Humāyūn ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Akbar ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1. Jahāngir ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Jahāngir and Nur Jahān	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Shāh Jahān	..	..	..	..	..	..
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr	Bh.	LM	R(I)	..	..	..
9. Murād Bakḥsh	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Shāh Shujā'	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur	B.M.	B.M.	..	..	..	..
12. A'zam Shāh	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Kām Bakḥsh	..	..	..	..	..	..
14. Jahāndār Shāh	..	..	..	XIII	..	..
15. 'Āzīm al-shāhān	..	..	..	..	..	..
16. Farrukhsiyar	XI	B.M.	..	II	..	..
17. Rafī' u-d-darjāt	..	..	..	..	..	..
18. Rafī' u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)	..	B.M.	..	..	..	..
19. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm	..	..	..	..	..	..
20. Muḥammad Shāh	St	B.M.	..	..	..	..
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur	St	B.M.	..	..	..	..
22. 'Ālamgīr II	..	B.M.	..	..	..	..
23. Shāh Jahan III	LM	LM	..	..	..	..
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	B.M.	B.M.	..	..	..	..
25. Badār Bakḥt	..	..	..	..	..	..
26. Akbar II	..	..	..	..	..	..
27. Bahādur II	..	..	..	..	..	..

فتحپور FATHPUR			فرخ آباد					
			فرخ آباد			احمد نگر فرخ آباد		
			FARRUKHĀBĀD:			AHMADNAGAR FARRUKHĀBĀD		
N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ	N	R	E
1								
2.								
3	P M.	B M.	B M					
4	G ¹	G ¹						
5								
6								
7		P M.						
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13.								
14.								
15.								
16				LM				
17								
18								
19								
20			LM	B M.				
21			XI	B M				
22				W		B M	B M	
23						B M	B M	
24				B.M. ¹		B M	B M	
25								
26								
27								

EMPEROR.	فرخ نگر FARUKH NAGAR.			فیروز گڑھ FIROZGARH.		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngir
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir
9. Murād Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur	P.M.	P.M.	..
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakḥsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīm-ah-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar
17. Rafī' u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī' u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II).
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muḥammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgir II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	R(1)	..	..	..
25. Badār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

فیروز نگر FIROZNAGAR.			قمر نگر QAMARNAGAR.			قندھار QANDAHAR		
N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
1.
2.	P.M.	P.M.
3.
4.	B.M.	P.M.	..
5.
6.
7.	B.M.	..
8.
9.
10.
11.	..	B.M.	..	..	..	..	..	..
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.
17.
18.
19.
20.	..	K	..	IM.	..	..	..	..
21.
22.
23.
24.	..	B.M.	..	..	..	..	..	..
25.
26.
27.

EMPEROR.	قندهار QANDAHĀR (S. INDIA.)			کابل KĀBUL		
	A	R	E	A	R	E
1. Bābur	P.M.	..
2. Humāyūn	P.M.	..
3. Akbar	B.M.	B.M.
4. Jahāngir	B.M.	P.M.
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh
7. Shāh Jahān	P.M.	B.M.	..
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir	I.M.	B.M.	R(1)
9. Murād Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur	P.M.	..
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakḥsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh	R(1)
15. 'Azīm-ū-sh-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar	Wh.	R(2)
17. Rafī'ū-d-darjāt	P.M.	XV.	..
18. Rafī'ū-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh	XIV.	..	P.M.	P.M.	P.M.
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgir II	I.M.	..
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II
25. Bedār Bakḥsh
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

کالپی KALPI			کالان KANAN			کٹک KATAK.		
A	R	E	A	R	E	A	R	E
1								
2								
3	IM	LM						
4							B	
5								
6								
7							LM	
8						XI	LM	PM
9								
10								
11								
12								
13								
14								
15								
16							BM	
17								
18								
19								
20						XI	LM	
21	PM						LM	
22	T							
23								
24	W				LM		XIII	
25								
26								
27								

IMPEROR.	کوار باد HARIRĪD			کرم HARFĪ.		
	A	R	E	N	R	I
1 Babur						
2 Humayūn						
3 Akbar						
4 Jahangir						
5 Jahāngir and Nur Jahān						
6 Dawar Baksh						
7 Shāh Jahan						
8 Aurangzeb Alamgir					XV	
9 Murād Baksh						
10 Shāh Shuja						
11 Shāh Alam Bahadur						
12 Azam Shāh						
13 Kām Baksh						
14 Jahāndār Shāh		II				
15 Azam Shāh						
16 Farrukhsiyar		VIII				
17 Rafī'ud-darjāt						
18 Rafī'ud-daula (Shāh Jahān II)						
19 Muhammad Ibrāhīm						
20 Muhammad Shah						
21 Ahmad Shāh Bahadur						
22 Alamgir II						
23 Shāh Jahan III						
24 Shāh Alam II						
25 Bedar Bakht						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

کرم آباد KARIMABAD.			کشمیر KASHMIR.			کلانور KALANUR.		
N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
1.
2.
3.	P.M.	..	..	..	..	R(1)
4.	K	B.M.	..	..	..	..
5.
6.
7.	XL	B.M.	D(1)	..	..	..
8.	..	K	LM	P.M.	..	..	..	..
9.
10.
11.	..	LM.	..	P.M.	..	..	..	..
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.	P.M.	..	..	..	..	..
17.
18.
19.
20.	B.M.	LM.	P.M.	..	..	..
21.	P.M.	..	..	..	..
22.	P.M.	..	..	..	..
23.
24.
25.
26.
27.

কলকাত্তা

কোলা

EMPEROR.

KALKATTA.

KOL.

	A	B	E	A	B	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	W
4. Jahāngir
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir
9. Murād Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakḥsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīm-ush-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar
17. Rafī'ud-darjāt	B.M.	..
18. Rafī'ud-daula (Shāh Jahān II).	XIV.	..
19. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muḥammad Shāh	XI.	B.M.	..
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur	Wh.	..
22. 'Ālamgir II	..	VI	..	B.M.	..	..
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	..	B.M.	B.M.	..	LM.	..
25. Badār Bakḥt
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

کوچ
KUCH.

کنبایت
KAMBAYAT.

کرت پور
KIRATPUR.

	N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
1.	
2.
3.			K
4.
5.
6.
7.		LM.	LM.				..
8.	LM	B.M			..	..
9.	..			B.M.	B.M.	..		..	..
10.						
11.	St	LM.	W	..		..
12.	
13.
14.		P.M.	..			..
15.
16.	..				P.M.			..	..
17.			..		T	..			..
18.	T	..	..	..	..
19.	
20.			LM	..	..		..
21.					LM.	..	..	..	..
22.		LM.	..	..
23.				
24.	..	W	..		..	..	..	..	..
25.
26.	
27.

EMPEROR.	گدڑولہ GADRAULA			گلبرگہ GULBARGA		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	XI.	..	..	..	..
4. Jahāngir
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh
7. Shah Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir	LM.	LM.	R(1)
9. Murād Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādūr
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakḥsh	K	..
14. Jahāndār Shāh	LM.	..	..
15. 'Azim-ush-shān
16. Farrukḥiyār
17. Rafi'ud-darjāt
18. Rafi'ud-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādūr
22. 'Ālamgir II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II
25. Badār Bakḥsh
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādūr II

گلشن آباد GULSHANĀBĀD.			گلکندہ GULKANDA.			گوالیار Gwālār.		
N	R	E	N	R	Æ	N	R	E
1.	
2.
3.			B.M.
4.	
5.
6.
7.	P.M.	L.M.	..			.
8.	B.M.	B.M.			P.M.	..
9.		
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.	B	K	..
15.
16.	..	XIV	..	.	..		B.M.	..
17.		P.M.	..
18.		P.M.	.
19.
20.	XI	L.M.	..
21.			XV	..
22.		P.M.	..
23.
24.		P.M.	K
25.
26.	
27.

EMPEROR.	گوند پور GOBINDPŪR.			گوبی GŪBI		
	N	R	E	N	R	E
1 Bābur						
2 Humayūn						
3 Akbar			LM			
4 Jahangir						
5 Jahangir and Nur Jahān						
6 Dawar Baksh						
7 Shah Jahan						
8 Aurangzeb Ālamgir					D(1) ¹	
9 Murad Baksh						
10 Shāh Shuja						
11 Shāh Ālam Bahadur					VIII	
12 Azam Shāh						
13 Kam Baksh						
14 Jahandar Shāh						
15 Azim-sh-shan						
16 Farrukhziyar					B.M	
17 Rafi u d-darjat						
18 Rafi u d-daula (Shāh Jahan II)						
19 Muhammad Ibrāhim						
20 Muhammad Shāh						
21 Ahmad Shāh Bahadur						
22 Ālamgir II						
23 Shah Jahan III						
24 Shāh Ālam II						
25 Bedar Bakht						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

گورکپور GORAKPŪR.			گوکل گڑھ GOKULGARH			گوکل گڑھ GOKULGARH (S. INDIA.)		
N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ
1								
2								
3		PM						
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
13							R(3) ¹	
14								
15								
16								
17								
18								
19								
20								
21								
22								
23								
24				LM.				
25								
26								
27								

EMPEROR.	گرمہ			لاہور		
	GORD			Lahor		
	A	R	L	A	R	L
1. Babur					BM	
2. Humayūn					BM	IM
3. Akbar			IM	BM	BM	BM
4. Jahāngir				BM	BM	
5. Jahangir and Nur Jahān				Paris ¹	BM	
6. Dāwar Bakhtsh					BM	
7. Shāh Jahan				BM	BM	
8. Aurangzeb Alamgir				PM	BM	PM
9. Murād Bakhtsh						
10. Shah Shuja						
11. Shāh Ālam Bahādur				BM	BM	
12. Īzām Shah						
13. Kām Bakhtsh						
14. Jahandār Shah					IM	
15. Azimu sh-shan						
16. Farrukhsiyar				BM	BM	
17. Rafi u-d-darjat				PM	BM	
18. Rafi u-d-daule (Shāh Jahan II)				IM	BM	
19. Muhammad Ibrāhim						
20. Muhammad Shāh				BM	BM	
21. Ahmad Shah Bahādur				PM	IM	
22. Ālamgir II				BM	BM	LV
23. Shah Jahan III						
24. Shah Ālam II		LV	LM			
25. Bedar Bakhtsh						
26. Akbar II						
27. Bahadur II						

¹ Zocal Bibliotlèque Nationale.² Also of Shāh Jahān with name Īl urram R BM

لاہنؤ LAHNAU			لاہری بندر LAHRI BANDAR			مہالپور MALPUR		
A	R	E	A	R	E	A	R	E
1	L							
2								
3		LM		PM		W	BM	B.M
4								
5								
6								
7	PM	XI	LM					
8		PM	R(1)					
9								
10								
11		LM						
12								
13								
14		LV						
15								
16		LM						
17		XIV						
18		PM						
19								
20		PM						
21								
22								
23								
24								
25								
26								
27								

EMPEROR.		مانکپور MANKPUR			مانگمر MANGMAR		
		A	B	E	A	B	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar	B(1)	..	..	K
4. Jahāngir
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dēwar Bakḥsh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr
9. Murād Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bakḥsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīm-ah-shāh
16. Farrukḥiyār
17. Rafī'u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II).
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shah 'Ālam II
25. Bedār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

اسلام آباد منہرا MATHURĀ, ISLĀMĀBĀD.			مجاہد آباد MUJĀHIDĀBĀD.			مچھلی پٹن MACHHLĪPATAN.		
₹	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹	₹
1.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8.	..	..	..	..	..	..	B.M.	K
9.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Nag.
12.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16.	..	..	..	..	..	B.M.	IL	K
17.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20.	..	..	..	..	..	B	VIII.	K
21.	..	..	VI	..	..	..	K	..
22.	..	..	..	..	..	..	P.M.	VI
23.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24.	P.M.	W	XV.	..	..	..	B.M.	B.M.
25.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

	محمد آباد	محمد نگر
EMPEROR.	MUHAMMADĀBĀD.	MUHAMMADNAGAR.

	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngir
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Baksh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr ..	P.M.	Wh	..	..	..	..
9. Murād Baksh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur ..	P.M.	P.M.	..	..	..	..
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Baksh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīmu sh-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar
17. Rafī'u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)
19. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muḥammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgīr II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	P.M.	..
25. Badār Bakht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

<p>صاحب دند</p> <p>MAHMUD BANDAR</p>			<p>صاحب آباد</p> <p>MAHMOUDĀBĀD</p>			<p>مدن کوت</p> <p>MADAN KOT</p>		
N	R	Æ	N	R	E	A	R	Æ
1.								
2.								
3.								K
4.								
5.								
6.								
7.								
8.	XIV			LM				
9.								
10.								
11.								
12.								
13.								
14.								
15.								
16.								
17.								
18.								
19.								
20.								
21.								
22.								
23.								
24.								
25.								
26.								
27.								

EMPEROR.	مراد آباد MURĀDĀBĀD.			مرشد آباد MURSHIDĀBĀD.		
	A	B	E	A	B	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngīr
5. Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bahbah
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr	P.M.	..	XI	LM	..
9. Murād Bahbah
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur	K	..	..	LM?	..
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kām Bahsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh	B	..
15. 'Azīm-ah-shān
16. Farrukhsiyar	B.M.	B.M.	..
17. Rafī'u-d-darjāt	K	..
18. Rafī'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)	B.M.	..
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Mohammed Shāh	I.M.	B.M.	..
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur	B.M.	..	..	B.M.	..
22. 'Ālamgīr II	LM	..	..	B.M.	..
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	LM	..	B.M.	B.M.	..
25. Badār Bahht
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

1 Also of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur as Mu'azam Shāh: B, P.M.

مصنّف اباد MUṢṬAFA-ĀBĀD.			مظفر گڑھ MUZAFFARGARH.			معظم اباد MU'AZZAMĀBĀD.		
N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.	K	..
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.	B.M.	..	..
15.
16.	P.M.	..	..
17.	B.M.	..	..
18.
19.
20.	P.M.	Ca.	..
21.
22.
23.
24.	..	I.M.	..	I.M.	..	..	..	..
25.
26.
27.

EMPEROR	ملتان			ملکہ نگر		
	MULTAN.			MALIKANAGAR.		
	A	B	E	A	B	E
1. Bābur ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Humāyūn ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Akbar ..	..	LM.	B.M.	..	..	..
4. Jahāngir ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān	..	..	..	..	..	..
6. Dāwar Bakhsh ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Shāh Jahān ..	B.M.	B.M.	..	..	..	..
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir ..	B.M.	B.M.	LM.	P.M.	..	..
9. Murād Bakhsh ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Shāh Shujā' ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur ..	St.	P.M.	..	..	..	..
12. A'zam Shāh ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13. Kām Bakhsh ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14. Jahāndār Shāh ..	..	Wh.	..	..	..	..
15. 'Azīmu-sh-shān ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16. Farrokhshyar ..	B.M.	B.M.	..	..	..	..
17. Rafī'u d darjāt ..	P.M.	P.M.	..	..	..	..
18. Rafī'u d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)	..	P.M.	..	..	..	..
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20. Muhammad Shāh ..	XL	LM.	LM.	..	..	..
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur ..	P.M.	LM.	..	..	..	..
22. 'Ālamgir II ..	P.M.	P.M.	..	..	..	..
23. Shāh Jahān III ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24. Shāh 'Ālam II ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
25. Badār Bakht ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26. Akbar II ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27. Bahādur II ..	..	..	..	..	..	..

ملہارنگر MULHĀRNAGAR.			منبے MUMBAI.			مندسور MANDISOR.		
N	R	E	N	R	E	N	R	E
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.	W	..	..	..	..
17.
18.	T	..	..	..	..
19.
20.	B.M.	..	..	..	.
21.	T	..	..	..	..
22.	XY.	..	..	..	..
23.
24.	..	I.M.	B.M.	B.M.	..	..	W	..
25.
26.
27.

EMPEROR	مندو MANDU			مونگیر MUNGIR.		
	N	R	Æ	N	R	Æ
1. Bābur	.					
2. Humāyūn			LM			
3. Akbar						
4. Jahāngir	P.M					
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān						
6. Dēwar Bakhsh						
7. Shah Jahān						
8. Aurangzeb Ālamgir						
9. Murād Bakhsh						
10. Shah Shuja						
11. Shāh Ālam Bahadur						
12. Āzam Shah						
13. Kām Bakhsh						
14. Jahāndar Shāh						
15. Azimu-sh shan						
16. Farrukhsiyar						
17. Rafi u d darjat						
18. Rafi u d daula (Shāh Jahan II)						
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm						
20. Muhammad Shāh						
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur						
22. Ālamgir II						
23. Shāh Jahan III.						
24. Shah Ālam II					VI	
25. Bedār Bakht						
26. Akbar II						
27. Bahadur II						

EMPEROR	ملا پور MAILAPUR.		نارنول NARNOL.			
	A	R	E	N	R	E
1 Bābur						
2 Humayun						
3 Akbar					PM	BM
4 Jahangir						
5 Jahangir and Nūr Jahān						
6 Dawar Bakhs̄h						
7 Shāh Jahan						IM
8 Aurangzeb Alamgir		PM	R(1)		BM	LM
9 Murad Bakhs̄h						
10 Shah Shuja						
11 Shāh Ālam Bahadur	BM	BM			PM	
12 A zam Shāh						
13 Kam Bakhs̄h						
14 Jahandār Shāh						
15 Azimu-sh-shan						
16 Farrukhs̄iyar						
17 Rafi u-d-darjat						
18 Rafi u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II).						
19 Muhammad Ibrāhīm						
20 Muhammad Shāh						
21 Ahmad Shāh Bahadur						
22 Alamgir II						
23 Shah Jahan III						
24 Shāh Ālam II						
25 Bedār Bakht						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahādur II						

LUGERON	VARWAR.		
	N	R	F
1. Babur			
2. Humayun			
3. Akbar			
4. Jahangir			
5. Jahangir and Nur Jahān			
6. Dār Baksh			
7. Shah Jahan			
8. Aurangzeb Ālamgīr			
9. Murād Baksh			
10. Shah Shuja			
11. Shāh Ālam Bahadur			
12. Azam Shah			
13. Kam Baksh			
14. Jahander Shah			
15. Azimush-shan			
16. Farrukhsijar			
17. Rafi'ud-darjat			
18. Rafi'ud-daula (Shāh Jahan II)			
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm			
20. Muhammad Shāh			
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahadur	B M		
22. Ālamgīr II	L M		
23. Shāh Jahan III			
24. Shāh 'Ālam II	P M	L M	
25. Bedar Bakht			
26. Akbar II			
27. Bahadur II			

ہاتھرس

صاحب باد ہاتھی

EMPEROR.

HATRAS.

Hāsi, Sāyānīd

V	R	E	V	R	E
---	---	---	---	---	---

1	Bābur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	Humāyūn	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	Akbar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	Jahāngir	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	Dāwar Baksh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7	Shāh Jahān	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	Murād Baksh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	Shah Shujā'	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11	Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	A'zam Shāh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	Kām Baksh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
14	Jahānōdār Shāh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15	'Azmu-sh-shān	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16	Farrukhsiyar	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
17	Rafī'u-d-darjāt	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	Rafī'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	Muhammad Ibrāhīm	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20	Muhammad Shāh	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
21	Almas Shāh Bahādur	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
22	'Ālamgir II	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	Shāh Jahān III	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
24	Shāh 'Ālam II	..	P.M.	..	..	W	..	..
25	Bedār Bakht	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
26	Akbar II	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
27	Bahādur II	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

EMPEROR.

	A	R	E	A	R	L
1 Babur						
2 Humāyun						
3 Akbar						
4 Jahangir						
5 Jahangir and Nur Jahan						
6 Dawar Bakhsch						
7 Shah Jahan						
8 Aurangzeb Alamgir						
9 Murad Bakhsch						
10 Shah Shuja						
11 Shah Alam Bahadur						
12 Azam Shah						
13 Kam Bakhsch						
14 Jahandar Shah						
15 Asimu-sh-shan						
16 Farrukhsyar						
17 Rafi u-d-darjat						
18 Rafi u-d-daula (Shah Jahan II).						
19 Muhammad Ibrahim						
20 Mutamnad Shah						
21 Ahmad Shah Bahadur						
22 Alamgir II						
23 Shah Jahan III						
24 Shah Alam II						
25 Bedar Bakht						
26 Akbar II						
27 Bahadur II						

EMPEROR.

	N	R	E	N	R	E
1. Bābur
2. Humāyūn
3. Akbar
4. Jahāngir
5. Jahāngir and Nūr Jahān
6. Dāwar Bakḥsh
7. Shāh Jahān
8. Aurangzeb 'Ālamgir
9. Murād Bakḥsh
10. Shāh Shujā'
11. Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur
12. A'zam Shāh
13. Kāsh Bakḥsh
14. Jahāndār Shāh
15. 'Azīmu-sh-shāh
16. Farrukḥsiyar
17. Rafī'u-d-darjāt
18. Rafī'u-d-daula (Shāh Jahān II).
19. Muhammad Ibrāhīm
20. Muhammad Shāh
21. Ahmad Shāh Bahādur
22. 'Ālamgir II
23. Shāh Jahān III
24. Shāh 'Ālam II
25. Badār Bakḥt
26. Akbar II
27. Bahādur II

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(c) the year of the Journal in which the supplement ap-
peared

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- Malwa* Copper coins Brown XXIV (140) 1914
- Mandisor* Mint epithet of Whitehead
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- Ma iud* Gold couplet Hodivala XXVI (104) 1918
- Mangarh* Mint Hodivala XXXI (196 viii) 1918
- Minglar* for Manghir Whitehead Vol VIII No 11 1912
- Mauludī* era of Tipu Sultan Henderson XXIII (136) 1914
- Me tal* of Chazru-d-din Haidar Brown XXIII (112) 1912
- Medals* (?) from Kurnul Codrington XX (121) 1912
- Medals* from Nepal Campbell XXII (128) 1912

- Medal of Shujā u d daula* Brown LVIII (112) 1912
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 marks and small silver Nevill LXXII (198) 1918
Mul arimad Adil *Shāh* Suri Æ from Guja
 rat Brown LXXIV (145) 1914
 Adil *Shāh* of Awadh coins
 Brown LVIII (112) 1912
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 Junagadh coins Taylor XIX (114) 1912
 Kambayat coins Taylor XX (119) 1912
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 Zam ul bilad Mint
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 White
 head XXV (147) 1915
Muhamma l Shāh II Bahmani Æ Brown LXII (129) 1914
Muhamma l nagar Ta'ida *Shāh* Alam II
 Mint Whitehead Vol VIII No 11 1912
 [Muhiabad] Puna Mint Hodi
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Mu u d din Kaskubad Small R Wright
 LVVII (166) 1916
Multān *Shāh* Alam I R Whitehead
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Mu rā labā l *Shāh* Alam II Æ
 Pannu Lall LXXIII (133) 1914
Murad Bakhs Kambayat coins
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Mura fī ta'ika Hodi
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Murshidābād Oldest British rupee
 Zambaur LXI (123) 1913
Mysore Mauludi era Henderson LXXIII (136) 1914
Nahrula sī lī r Patta Akbar Æ Taylor LXXIV (144) 1914

- Naphi Malka* White Hun coins White head VVI (122) 1913
- Nasirabad* or *Nusratabad* Aurangzeb R Suboor and Nevill VVV (190) 1918
- Nasir ul din Haider* of Awadh coins Brown VVIII (112) 1912
- Nisuru l d i U l i l* Small R Wright VVII (166) 1916
- Nepalese* War medals Campbell VVII (128) 1914
- Nevils* Nevill VVIII (198) 1918
- Nisari Shih Bilman* E Brown VVII (129) 1914
- Nur Jahan* Zodiaca V Whitehead Vol VIII No 11 1912
& R Whitehead VVV (147) 1914
- Nur jahan* Term for muhar of Jahangir Hodivala VVII (194) 1918
- Nusratabad* Aurangzeb R Suboor and Nevill VVV (190) 1918
- On the vide Auradh*
- Panjanagar* Mint Hodivala VVIII (180) 1917
- Pathan* Small silver Wright VVII (166) 1916
- Pattana* Akbar R Ianna Lall VVI (160) 1915
E Taylor VVI (144) 1914
Copper coins Whitehead VVV (147) 1915
Mint Whitehead Vol VIII No 11 1912
- Parta* a noveltes Paruck VVII (197) 1918
- Phraates I* Drachme Paruck VVII (197) 1918
- Porbandar* or *Pareida*? Mint Hodivala VVII (196 x) 1918
- Pratapa Varajana* Coins Botham VV (190) 1915
- Puna* Mint Hodivala VVII (196) 1918
- Qutb u d din Mubarak* Small R Wright VVII (166) 1916
- Rafi u d darajat* Kambayat coins Taylor VV (119) 1915
Lakhnau R Brown VVI (151) 1915
- Rajapur* Alias of Islam bandar Taylor VV (104) 1915
Suggested reading Hodivala VVI (196 y) 1918
- Review* Catalogue of coins in Panjab Museum Vol II Mughals Taylor VVII (149) 1914
The copper coins of India by Valentine Part I Taylor VVII (143) 1914
- Rudradasa* (Audambara) Banerj VVII (134) 1914
- Rupen* issued of Edward VII Taylor VVII (13) 1914
- Sagaratigasa (?)* White Hun Whitehead VVI (129) 1913
- Safu d d i Ham a* of Bengal R Nevill VVI (157) 1915
- Sakimabad Ajmer* E Whitehead Vol VIII No 11 1912
- Sarindra Gupta* Gold coins Campbell VVII (126) 1914
Legend of aswamedha Allan VVII (13) 1914
Legend of aswamedha Hirananda Sastri VVI (159) 1915

<i>Śī āman</i>	Bastham or Bistam AR	Ihāna	XXVI (154) 1915
	wala		
	Bastham or Bistam R		XXVIII (183) 1917
	Paruck		
	Hormuzd II	Drachmes Paruck	XXX (187) 1918
	Khorezad Khusrū AR	Paruck	XXX (186) 1917
	Khusrū I	Drachme Paruck	XXX (187) 1918
	Kobad and Hormuzd IV AR		XXX (185) 1917
	Paruck		
	KVI BBA	Mint Paruck	XXX (189) 1918
	Queen Borin	Drachme Paruck	XXVIII (120) 1917
	Rulers dates of	Paruck	XXX (186) 1917
	Shāpūr the Great V	Paruck	XXVIII (174) 1917
	Shapur the Great V	Correction	XXX (188) 1918
	Paruck		
	Shapūr II	Drachme Paruck	XXX (192) 1918
	Zamasp R	Thānawala	XX (117) 1917
	Attribution disputed		
	Paruck		XXVIII (172) 1917
<i>Salgāon</i>	Ghūsu d dīn Azam AR	Nevill	XXVI (157) 1916
<i>Salrudaman</i>	alias Pratāpa Narayana		
	Botham		XX (120) 1912
<i>Sa jājīrav II</i>	of Baroda coins	Taylor	XXVIII (111) 1912
<i>III</i>	of Baroda coins	Taylor	XXVIII (111) 1912
<i>Shāhābu d dīn Bayāzīd</i>	of Pengal AR		
	Nevill		XXVI (157) 1915
<i>Shāh Ālam I Bahadur</i>	Arkat R	White head	Vol VIII No 11 1912
	Arkat R	Brown	XXII (130) 1914
	Heavy rupees		
	Hodivala		XXVIII (176) 1917
	Junagadh R		
	Taylor		XX (114) 1912
	Kambayat AR		
	Taylor		XX (119) 1912
	Lakhnau R		
	Brown		XXV (151) 1916
	Laqab Hamī Dīn		
	Whitehead	Vol VIII No 11	1912
	Multan AR	White head	Vol VIII No 11 1912
<i>Shāh Ālam II</i>	Al madībad coins	Master	XXII (125) 1914
	Anūpnagar Shāhabad R		
	Wright		XX (113) 1912
	Awadh coins in name of		
	Brown		XXIII (112) 1912

- Shāh 'Ālam II.* Bisauli R. Panna Lall XXVI (169) 1915.
 „ Hānsī Shāhībīd Allan XVII (105) 1912
 „ Kālpi, Korā, Kūnch R. Whitehead. Vol VIII, No 11, 1912
 „ Muḥammad R Whitehead. Vol VIII, No 11, 1912
 „ Murādābīd R Panna Lall. XXIII (133) 1911
- Shāhghaṭh* Surī mint Nevill XVIII (109) 1912.
- Shāh Jahān I* Akbarībīd mīr Nevill XXXII (198) 1918.
 „ Akbarnagar mīr Nevill XXXII (198) 1918
 „ Balkh A Whitehead. Vol VIII, No 11, 1912
 „ Gulkanda R. Hodivala XXVII (168) 1916
 „ Gulkanda R Brown XXX (193) 1918
 „ Ilahābīd R Panna Lall XXV (148) 1916
 „ Jūnagadh coins Taylor XIX (114) 1912
 „ Kambāyat coins Taylor XX (119) 1912
 „ Lāhor mīr. Nevill XXXII (198) 1918
 „ Lakhnau coins Brown XXV (161) 1915
 „ Shāhjahānābād mīr Nevill XXXII (198) 1918
- Shāh Jahān II* Akbarībīd R Whitehead. Vol VIII, No 11, 1912
 „ Jūnagadh coins Taylor XIX (114) 1912
 „ Kambāyat coins Taylor XX (119) 1912
 „ Lakhnau R Brown XXV (161) 1915
 „ Surat R Whitehead. Vol VIII, No 11, 1912
- Shāh Jahān III* Ahmadābīd coins Master XLI (125) 1912
- Shāhjahānābād* Aurangzeb square area R Brown XIX (115) 1912
 „ (?) Farrukhsiyar R Panna Lall XXV (148) 1915
 „ Shāh Jahan mīr Nevill XXXII (198) 1918
- Shāh Shujā'* Coins Whitehead XX (116) 1912
- Shamsu d dīn Altamash* $\frac{1}{2}$ tanka R Wright. XXVII (166) 1916
 „ Ilās of Bengal R Nevill XXVI (157) 1916
 „ Mahmūd Shāh coin and account of Whitehead. XVII (102) 1912
- Shāpur the Great* Gold coin of Paruck XXVIII (124) 1917
 „ „ Gold coin of Paruck XXX (188) 1918
- Shāpur II.* Drachme Paruck XXX (192) 1918
- Sharq copper* Coins of Mahmūd Shāh Nevill XXVI (158) 1915
- Sher Shāh* Lakhnau R Brown XXV (151) 1915
 „ Small R Wright. XXVII (166) 1916

<i>Shujā u d dawla</i> of Awadh medal	Brown	XXVIII (112) 1912
<i>Sikanlar bin Ilas</i> Of Bengal R	Nevill	XXVI (157) 1915
Lodi billon coin of Delhi mint		
Nevill		XXVI (157) 1915
<i>Sirdhana</i> (?) Mint	Whitehead	XX (147) 1915
<i>Swadāsa</i> (Audambara) Banerji		XXIII (134) 1914
<i>Srinagar</i> mint	Hodivala	XXVIII (177) 1917
Brown		XX (193) 1918
<i>Sulaimān Jah</i> of Awadh coins	Brown	XVII (112) 1912
<i>Surat Akbar</i> R	Panna I all	XXVI (161) 1915
<i>Shah Jahān II</i> R	Whitehead	
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<i>Taimur Shāh</i> Durrani	Bhakkar A	
Jagat Prasad		XXVI (165) 1915
<i>Tāmradhaj</i> Kachari coin	Botham	XX (120) 1912
<i>Tanka</i> Murādi	Hodivala	XXIII (181) 1917
<i>Tanka</i> of Alau d dīn Bahman	Shah	
Whittell		XXII (199) 1918
<i>Tankas</i> of Akbar	Whitehead	XXV (147) 1915
<i>Tanka</i> Meaning of	Hodivala	XXVII (169) 1916
<i>Thomas George</i>	Rupess of Allan	XVII (105) 1912
<i>Tipu Sultan</i> Muzūdi era	Henderson	XXIII (138) 1914
<i>Treasure Trove</i> Alau d dīn Bahman Shah		
Whittell		XXII (199) 1918
Audambara	Banerji	XXIII (134) 1914
Bahmani	Brown	XXII (125) 1914
Bengal Sultans	Nevill	XXVI (157) 1915
Ephthalite or White Hun		
Whitehead.		XXI (127) 1913
Gangeya Deva	Wright	XVII (101) 1912
Gujarat etc	Copper	
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Banerji		XXII (131) 1914
Mughal rupees and nisars		
Nevill		XXIII (198) 1918
Sikandar Lodi billon		
Nevill		XXVI (153) 1915
<i>Ujjain</i> Azam Shah R	Brown	XXII (130) 1914
<i>Vaiga</i> (?) White Hun	Whitehead	XXI (177) 1913
<i>Valentine</i> Copper coins	Reviewed	
Taylor		XXIV (143) 1914
<i>Vastham</i> Dirham	Thanawala	XXVI (154) 1915
Paruck		XXVIII (183) 1917
<i>Wali ullah</i> Bahmani R	Brown	XXII (179) 1914
<i>Wajid Ali Shah</i> of Awadh	Coins	Brown
Eight of Aurangzeb s dams	Hodivala	XXIII (175) 1917

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	Taylor	XXIV (142) 1911
White Hun coins	Whitehead	XXI (122) 1911
Zamir bilal	identified with Ahmadabad	
	Whitehead	Vol VIII No 11 1912
	with Ahmadabad Master	XXI (121) 1911
	Whitehead	XXI (117) 1911
Zimisp dirham	Thanawala	XX (117) 1911
	Attribution disputed	
	Paruck	XXVIII (172) 1917
Zolacal coins	Whitehead	Vol VIII No 11 1912
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Zoroastrian deities on Indo scythian coin		
	Thanawala	XXV (149) 1911
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	Paruck	XXVII (173) 1917